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Growing will to reach a Middle East settlement

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

Premier Peres of Israel and President Mubarak of Egypt both visited Bonn in the last week of January. Both concentrated on practical proposals to settle the Middle East conflict.

All agree the time has come to negotiate a peace settlement, but ways and means testify to overwhelming differences of opinion.

For Egypt a satisfactory conclusion to the tug-of-war over Taba, a strategically unimportant strip of land on the Red Sea, is a matter of national honour and prestige.

It is also a domestic political necessity if President Mubarak is to shake off tiresome opposition.

For Israel Taba is merely part of a package including the return to Tel Aviv of the Egyptian ambassador recalled three years ago, the normalisation of chilly relations between Egypt and Israel and the implementation of economic, scientific and cultural agreements between them.

For Mr Peres, who is due to hand over the Premiership to Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir in a mere nine months, normalisation of ties with Egypt is an extremely important foreign policy target.

From Mr Mubarak's viewpoint a swift thaw in ties between Cairo and Jerusalem might merely upset his intensive endeavours to return to the Arab fold.

Mr Peres is working against the clock. He aims to make foreign policy headway before handing over to Mr Shamir in October so as to present his successor with a *fait accompli*.

That is why he has also sought to speed up indirect ties with King Hussein of Jordan. But efforts to bring Jordan to the conference table have so far been in vain.

With Egyptian support King Hussein insists on an international conference being held on the Middle East with the PLO taking part.

Israel rejects Yasser Arafat as a matter of principle as both a negotiator and a spokesman for the Palestinians.

It also insists on the resumption of diplomatic ties between Israel and the Soviet Union, broken off by Moscow in 1967, before considering Soviet participation in the talks.

President Mubarak and King Hussein are on the same wavelength here. Their aims may differ but King Hussein is not prepared to negotiate with Israel without Mr Arafat taking part in the talks.

Only the PLO can authorise him to make concessions in the bargaining over the future of Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967 without being pilloried as a traitor to the Arab cause and risking both his throne and his life.

President Mubarak would like to arrange for a political settlement in the Middle East in order to rid Egypt of the stigma of having sued for a separate peace with Israel.

That is why the breakdown in crucial talks between King Hussein and Mr Arafat caused by fundamental differences of opinion upset the Egyptian leader even before he flew home from Bonn and prompted him to invite them both to a summit meeting in Cairo.

In his short period in office Mr Peres has ended Israel's war role in Lebanon and sought to streamline the Israeli economy.

But his flexible Middle East concept has failed so far to gain much support, and Mr Shamir and his Likud group have already made substantial political capital out of this failure.

Joseph Canaan

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 3 February 1986)

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Israel's Prime Minister Peres (left) in Bonn with President von Weizsäcker. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Mubarak and Peres take their respective cases to Europe

President Mubarak of Egypt, whose recent visit to Bonn was his fourth since 1982, sought European backing for his plans to lend fresh stimulus to the peace process in the Middle East.

The reasons why he paid Bonn this spectacular visit so soon after Israeli Premier Peres' visit to the Federal Republic were mainly domestic.

Using the Camp David process and the Americans as his predecessor, President Sadat, did is viewed with growing scepticism by the Egyptian Opposition.

Ties between Egypt and the United States are at a low ebb after USAF planes made the Air Egypt jet with the Achille Lauro hijackers on board force-land in Sicily.

Egyptian President Mubarak (left) with Chancellor Kohl in Bonn. (Photo: AP)

In the Arab world Egypt's peace policy is viewed with mistrust in any case.

Besides, Egypt is deep in debt and beset by economic problems that have lately led to domestic crisis.

German economic aid has traditionally been a valued asset in ties between Bonn and Cairo, but President Mubarak needs more.

He needs support for his peace policy ideas, which run somewhere between the moderate Arab states, the Americans and the Israelis.

The European Parliament, which he hoped to bring round to his way of thinking with his Strasbourg speech, had little more to offer than the European Community countries.

The standard formula is that problems in the Middle East can only be solved by eliminating the cause of the crisis, which is — and remains — the unresolved Palestinian question.

Europeans at the Middle East conference table could hardly hope to succeed where the superpowers have failed: in persuading Israelis and Palestinians to make peace with each other.

That would indeed hold the key to ending the plague of terrorism.

But as long as extremist Palestinian groups are backed by extremist Arab regimes that preach holy war, and as long as Moscow fans the fires of instability in the Middle East for its own ends, there will, sad to say, be little change in this state of affairs.

It could deteriorate even further for the West if moderates such as President Mubarak were weakened politically and economically.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 31 January 1986)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Challenger: show goes on despite disaster

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Not since the assassination of President Kennedy have Americans so deeply felt a disaster as the explosion of the US space shuttle Challenger.

John F. Kennedy epitomised the national pride of a country that led the world. The United States was not just the most powerful country in military and economic terms; it was also the most respected.

The entire Western world looked with admiration and sympathy to the White House, while Americans openly referred to their hero in the Oval Office.

Today's national heroes are the astronauts, all the more so for including in their number "ordinary" people like teacher Christa McAuliffe from Concord, New Hampshire.

There was a time in the past when membership of this exclusive club was restricted to hard-boiled test pilots and officers.

Nearly everyone who spoke into a microphone on the day Challenger exploded referred to a national tragedy. The seven astronauts belonged to the entire nation.

They were men and women from all over the United States who represented the talent and dynamism of a nation with such wide-ranging ethnic origins.

Not for nothing does Nasa shortlist its astronauts from all races, and President Reagan was no less well-advised in promising America in 1984 that a teacher would soon be sent up into space.

How, he reasoned, could young people possibly be better motivated to show a keen interest in space research than by an astronaut they regarded as one of their own taking part?

How vividly one can imagine the horror felt by an entire school as it sees, on a screen in the assembly hall, how one of its teachers is blown up in a gigantic explosion in the sky!

The shock wasn't just limited to one short moment; it was constantly magnified by the media. For hour after hour America was inundated with information, visual and the spoken word, on TV.

The shock might arguably not have struck so deep had Americans not grown accustomed to the seemingly immaculate perfection of their space ventures.

Not even a nuclear submarine that goes down with all hands, a death toll of 90, in the middle of the ocean creates such a shock as the death of a space shuttle crew of seven.

People are constantly aware of the risk of submarine crews being buried alive in the hull of their craft, no matter how safe the sub may be.

The space shuttle in contrast had been an unprecedented success story that gave everyone a sense of pride — and that was how they wanted it to stay.

But the Cape Canaveral explosion burst the bubble of an illusion that America, and only America, had space research firmly under control.

At a time of disaster doubters get a word in edgeways. Anything but a tiny minority of US scientific opinion turns out to feel manned space research is wasteful and a pointless risk.

Sceptics say man stands not the slightest chance of ever reaching even the nearest planet and will be limited to orbiting our own.

In the long term even this work could be done just as well and at lower cost by unmanned spacecraft.

Building a space shuttle to repair and maintain satellites is said to be several times more expensive than launching fresh satellites to replace defective ones.

These arguments cannot be dismissed out of hand, especially as it just isn't true to say that the shuttle is at least 50 per cent a military device.

The Pentagon may have booked seven of the 15 missions planned for this year, but the decision to go ahead with the space shuttle was reached against considered military opinion.

The military share the critics' fears that the shuttle is too expensive and would sooner have a smaller space programme of their own with no compromises needing to be made to civil requirements.

Sorrow or none, critics have not forgotten commercial considerations, The Challenger catastrophe has set the programe back by at least six months and flights commissioned by private enterprise cannot be carried out.

The Europeans, it is frankly argued, will doubtless cream off much of this business with their less sophisticated launcher rocket Ariane.

There have even been suggestions that Nasa may have allowed itself to be pressured too hard by private business interests.

But the Americans aren't so fainthearted as to consider mothballing their space shuttles.

Even at the height of the Congressional debate on the Federal budget there is no serious question of shelving manned space research.

Indeed, the accident compounds the challenge. America sees itself as a pioneering country. Nowadays astronauts are the pioneers.

No Congress and no President are going to shake at the foundations of this view Americans hold of themselves.

Winfried Münster

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 30 January 1986)

Fresh initiatives in effort to end troop-cut talks stalemate

Now the Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachov, has hinted at the possibility of progress the West has tensely awaited the resumption of the Vienna MBFR talks on troop cuts in Central Europe.

In December the West, at Bonn's suggestion, undertook a fundamental change of viewpoint in order to make possible a first, limited force reduction agreement.

It waived its insistence on prior clarification of the data on which mutual balanced force reduction was to be based.

Western experts now expect the Soviet Union, after its response, to move toward a rapprochement at the latest, 38th round of Vienna talks.

The talks marked time for 12 years because Eastern claims and Western assessments of the strength of Warsaw Pact forces in Central Europe differed by over 150,000 men.

The latest Western proposal seeks to solve this problem by means of a fresh approach. In response to the 14 February 1985 Soviet offer of a limited initial agreement it envisages the following:

- A reduction of Soviet forces in Central Europe by 11,500 and of US forces in the region by 5,000 over a period of not longer than 12 months.
- An undertaking by both sides not to increase either Nato or Warsaw Pact land and air force strength in the reduction area for three years.
- Verification of the measures agreed by spot checks and regular inspection units to observe troop movements in and from the reduction area.
- Advance notice of military activities in the treaty area and exchange of manoeuvre observers.
- Each side to be entitled to decide for itself what to do with the arms and equipment of forces withdrawn from Central Europe.

The West is of the opinion that this offer, as a side-effect of inspection as suggested, could result in agreement on force strength in Central Europe.

Whether data agreement of this kind is possible will be the key issue in Vienna. Assuming agreement to be reached, a further treaty could be signed in three or four years.

It could deal with overall force reduction by both sides in the Federal Republic and Benelux in the West and in the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia in the East.

The aim is clear: a reduction to 900,000 men on each side, of whom 700,000 are to be land forces.

Mr Gorbachov's statement has triggered hopes of progress. In Vienna the outlines of an agreement have taken shape. The Soviet Union and its allies are said to be prepared to contribute toward success.

Treaty terms are specifically seen as mainly envisaging readiness to consider appropriate verification procedures and to accept the establishment of permanent reciprocal inspection checkpoints.

Moscow has said it is considering facilities of this kind both for regular checks of ordinary troop movements and for observation of the withdrawal of forces under a troop cut agreement.

The West feels this alone is not enough to ensure data clarification and a more far-reaching agreement must first be concluded.

Yet an agreement in time for the next or next-but-one US-Soviet summit has at least become conceivable, especially as substantial agreement was found to exist in a number of sectors at the end of the 37th round of MBFR talks in the Austrian capital.

So the 12 years of talks have not been entirely useless. Above all, the Vienna talks have played a leading role in ensuring the central significance of verification as now acknowledged by Moscow in respect of all items under discussion.

They include the Stockholm talks on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe and the UN talks on a total ban on chemical weapons.

So there are hopes that these multilateral conferences might perform an icebreaker role in the arms control debate.

This is most likely to prove possible in respect of talks on banning chemical weapons. They have made substantial headway and Mr Gorbachov has indicated readiness to make specific concessions.

He has, however, called on the West to go further than stating where chemical weapons are manufactured and permitting international inspection of the destruction of existing stockpiles.

It must agree to regular inspection including spot checks. Special talks between America and Russia are now looking into this too. If they succeed there could be a breakthrough.

Wolf J. Bell

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 30 January 1986)

Euro ministers agree on Libya stance

European Community governments have agreed to impose a strict embargo on shipments of arms and military equipment to Libya.

They are also "to do all they can" to make sure Common Market companies or citizens don't cash in on sanctions imposed on Libya by the US government.

The 12 Foreign Ministers agreed on these moves after lengthy talks, issuing a statement in which care was taken to avoid mentioning Libya by name.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was said to have been strongly in favour of mentioning Libya by name in three key passages of the document.

Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Theodoros Pangalos stubbornly disagreed, and was backed by Spain, Italy and Denmark.

Herr Genscher's stand was felt to have been due mainly to domestic considerations and to anxiety over the US reaction, America having demanded full-scale European Community sanctions against Libya.

The statement refers merely to governments that support or approve of international terrorism. [illegible] diplomats see a mention of "serious concern" over the tension that has arisen in the Mediterranean as an appeal to Washington not to embark on military moves against Libya.

The 12 also refer to their desire for cooperation with all countries, including the Mediterranean states, to ensure that terrorists find neither refuge nor support.

States that support or protect terrorists cannot expect to maintain normal relations with the 12, the statement says.

The Foreign Ministers seem to have felt Syria ought to have been mentioned alongside Libya if countries were to be specifically named.

But Syria is currently seen as a stabilising factor in Lebanon and a possible cornerstone of a peace settlement in the Middle East. Besides, Syria and the European Community have a cooperation agreement.

Greek and Danish opposition stymied a bid by Herr Genscher to normalise the Community's ties with Turkey. DM1.3bn in financial aid has been blocked since the military take-over in [illegible] 1980.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 January 1986)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Berlin's mayor goes on TV to explain about builder's donation to party

West Berlin's governing Christian Democrats are caught up in a row over political contributions. They have admitted receiving about 250,000 marks from Kurt Franke, a building contractor who has been arrested on suspicion of bribery. The West Berlin FDP has also admitted receiving money from Franke, but only about 10,000 marks. Several officials in the city have been suspended. The opposition Social Democrats went out of power in 1981 following a scandal in the construction industry. The CDU came to office under Richard von Weizsäcker, but he went to Bonn to become President and was succeeded as mayor in 1984 by Eberhard Diepgen. Diepgen won the city election last year when the SPD did badly. Now Diepgen has gone on television to explain that before he became mayor, he did accept money from Franke — 75,000 marks — but this was passed on to party funds, Franke had received no favours.

Sex, greed, politics and VIPs — no, not part of a trailer to a crime series on TV, but the ingredients of a bribery scandal which is boosting the sales of the yellow press in Berlin.

With a new instalment almost every day, many observers already feel that this could be Berlin's biggest ever post-war corruption scandal, if, that is, the allegations of the public prosecutor's office are true.

The whole affair began with a shot fired in a deserted underground car park.

The victim, a lawyer called Schmidt-Salzmann, survived with a wounded arm.

During its search, the police combed the office of Schmidt-Salzmann's former business partner and came across a carbon copy of a letter to a certain "Dear Wolfgang".

The letter was a reminder by Schmidt-Salzmann of the services to be rendered in return for the DM200,000 he had previously forwarded to the addressee.

The police soon discovered that "Dear Wolfgang" was Wolfgang Antes, a former chairman of a regional CDU group in Berlin and councillor in the Berlin district of Charlottenburg.

Forty-one year-old Antes, a trained technical school teacher, was no stranger to police records.

Police had made investigations concerning his person a few months previously, but were forced to drop charges because of lack of evidence.

This time Antes was immediately remanded in custody [illegible] taking bribes. It was an [illegible] the CDU, although many CDU politicians initially played it down by pointing out that there's a black sheep in every family.

In fact, to begin with the case looked more like a mediocre play from an amateur dramatics group than an affair of state.

The general secretary of the CDU, Landowsky, accused the opposition parties in Berlin of conducting a "trash and smut campaign", against the CDU, and Senate spokesman, Winfried Fest, dismissed the accusations of the SPD and the Alternative List party as "New Year fireworks".

In the meantime, almost 30 people stand accused of being involved. Some have been arrested.

The arrest of building contractor Kurt Franke was a dramatic turn.

Franke owns a tremendous amount of property and is reputed to have been generous when it came to giving donations to political parties.

An acting district mayor, three former or still active district councillors and three high-ranking local government officials are being questioned. In addition, the public prosecutor has taken a closer look at 20 building firms and remanded a tax consultant from Hesse in custody.

A spokesman in Berlin says no end to investigations are in sight.

When the CDU came into office in Berlin the local population hoped that is would put an end to the "red corruption and nepotism" it had criticised when the previous SPD government was in power.

Now, as opposition leader, Walter Momper, pointed out, the CDU itself has "lost its virginity".

As accusations stand, however, it looks as if Wolfgang Antes was the man who carried things the furthest.

Apart from the DM200,000 he received from Schmidt-Salzmann he is also reputed to have taken bribes from a CDU member in Charlottenburg who is also well-known as a brothel owner, for an hereditary leasehold agreement and the leasing of a café in Berlin's Europa Center.

Total bribe money is said to amount to DM1.5m, although Antes himself swears he is innocent.

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Whatever the outcome of investigations, Antes was unable to pull off the biggest coup he planned.

Behind the back of the district councillor responsible for finance, who was on holiday at the time, Antes was hoping to sell off 2,000 publicly owned flats to a second-hand car dealer from Wuppertal, Otto Putsch, for DM4,000 each — a snip.

This deal is described as follows in the warrant issued for Antes' arrest:

"In return for . . . support . . . Antes was promised or demanded the payment of DM5m".

The deal, however, fell through in summer 1984 in the face of parliamentary opposition in Charlottenburg and public indignation.

Strangely enough, it is this of all cases which is now causing problems for the mayor of Berlin, Eberhard Diepgen, the general secretary of the CDU in Berlin, Landowsky, and the Senator of the Interior, Heinrich Lummer.

As early as summer 1984 the press began asking questions about the special reasons Antes must have had to set up such a deal.

Many newspapers called for his resignation, but the affair simply petered out.

Nothing could be proved, and disciplinary investigations ended up with a mild reprimand.

In fact, the official who investigated and who came to the conclusion that a disciplinary court should be called in was himself sharply criticised by the CDU.

As Antes' senior employer, the mayor of Berlin need not have been content with a reprimand and could have looked into the case himself.

The CDU, however, kept itself very much in the background, even though it was aware of what had happened in Charlottenburg.

This, in effect, is the political crux of the whole scandal.

Senior CDU officials did not even seem unduly concerned about the fact that Antes was again nominated as building councillor in spring 1985.

An end was finally put to the career of Wolfgang Antes, however, by a handful of district parliamentarians from the Charlottenburg CDU group, who made sure that Antes was not renominated as building councillor in summer 1985.

Diepgen, who is normally an outstanding speaker, looked very unconvincing when making a statement on the affair in Berlin's state parliament.

In defence of his reserved stance so far, Diepgen claimed that he was unable to push through his intentions to begin with against grass roots party opposition in Charlottenburg.

What is more, he continued, he didn't know anything about bribe money until Antes was arrested.

Gerd Zitzelsberger

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 24 January 1986)

Social Democrats say Flick report biased

The Social Democrats have dissented from a report of the Parliamentary committee investigating the Flick political party donations affair.

Most of the committee thinks that the SPD must take most of the blame for the way Flick manager Eberhard von Brauchitsch attempted to avoid paying tax.

But Peter Struck, an SPD member of the committee, says the report is biased.

The committee, which began its hearings two years ago, had 83 sessions. It examined 49 top-level witnesses and a mass of written evidence before coming up with its 1,300-page report.

It is alleged that Flick illegally got tax relief on capital gains of two million marks on the sale of its shares in Daimler-Benz. It later reinvested the money.

The affair led to the resignation of the then Minister of Economic Affairs, Count Otto Lambsdorff (FDP).

There was plenty of squabbling on the investigating committee. But in the light of its findings, the Bundestag is to take steps to prevent anything similar happening.

The rules of conduct of Bundestag members, the possibility of tax-free reinvestment of capital gains (paragraph 6 b of the Income Tax Act), and the rights of parliamentary investigation committees are to be changed.

After two years of hard, fact-finding work, 83 sessions, the embarrassing questioning of 49 top-ranking witnesses from the fields of politics, economics and administration, and the meticulous examination of a whole deluge of notes and memoranda concerning the attempts by the Flick group to obtain tax relief, the commitee has issued a report recording every meeting which ever took place and every pfennig of "donation money" ever made.

The SPD has submitted its dissenting opinion, complaining that in the final report the CDU/CSU and FDP have exaggerated the shortcomings of others and belittled their own.

The majority of committee members, however, feel that the SPD must take most of the blame for the way in which Flick manager, Eberhard von Brauchitsch, tried to dodge tax payments.

The SPD, they claim, put too much pressure on the Flick group.

The CDU committee member, Friedrich Bohl, feels that this is "a key to the understanding" of this problem.

The committee members in the parties belonging to the current coalition government (CDU/CSU and FDP) took a particularly close look at the SPD's relationship to money.

There was, for example, a "sudden jump" in the donations of the Flick industrial group after the SPD took over federal government responsibility.

This in itself would almost suggest a link with tax relief decision-making procedures.

The SPD's donation collectors, for example, attended the meetings between representatives of the Flick group and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the SPD's Finance Ministers.

The former coalition partner of the SPD and current coalition partner of the CDU/CSU, the FDP, on the other hand, is not so sharply criticised in the committee's final report.

"Party financing via donations does not indicate attempts to gain an influence by means of financial contributions", says the report in its section on the FDP.

After all, the Liberals had always been supported by the Flick industrial group.

FDP leaders were able to convince the committee that the party would never have accepted donation money had it been tied to political demands.

The CDU and CSU for their part manoeuvred themselves out of the line of fire, emphasising the fact that at the time of the alleged bribery scandal they were in parliamentary opposition.

The report is full of very general criticism of the way in which the Flick group, the government in Bonn, and members of ministerial department behaved during this period.

In this context, the FDP is not treated so leniently.

The two Economics Ministers at the time, Hans Friedrichs and Count Otto Lambsdorff, both members of the FDP, should have noticed the frequency with which Eberhard von Brauchitsch arranged meetings at which he was the host.

The way in which officials were informed about internal procedure in their ministries and the way in which they were involved in dealing with applications bordered, says the report, on the permissible.

Although the SPD does not wish to ignore the mistakes made by top SPD politicians, "the effects of donations to the CDU/CSU and the FDP", says SPD committee member Struck, "is played down".

The SPD, he points out, received DM4.3m from Flick, whereas the others parties received over three times this amount.

What is more, it should be taken into account that the Flick group interfered in party personnel policy by "sponsoring" FDP members of the Bundestag and CDU politicians.

The committee hopes that the abuses disclosed will help prevent similar occurrances. But this is doubtful in view of the new scandal in Berlin.

As Peter Struck puts it: "I fear that this is a pipe-dream".

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 January 1986)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Fading memories of foundation of a nation

Three days after the international PEN congress in New York the Goethe House on Fifth Avenue held a two-day symposium on relations between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The best-known platform speaker was historian Gordon Craig. German speakers were historian Arnulf Baring, *Die Zeit* publisher Marion Dönhoff and writer Hans Magnus Enzensberger.

Collective memories were fading, said Professor Craig in his main address.

In a Cologne TV programme a young German girl had told him Adenauer meant nothing to her generation, while he had come across students at Stanford, where he teaches, who had never heard of George C. Marshall.

Given this state of affairs, he added with a wry smile, the museum on the Federal Republic of Germany proposed by Chancellor Kohl might well be a good idea.

In the main lecture theatre at the Guggenheim Museum a full house heard American and German historians, writers and journalists discuss "The Foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany. An Assessment of America's Role from 1945 to 1949 and Thereafter."

In his introductory remarks chairman Fritz Stern of Columbia University, New York, drew a clear distinction between the subject and current events.

Nostalgia was not intended. Neither was a continuation of 40 years of appeals; they had been brought to a clear end by Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker in his 8 May 1985 address to the Bundestag.

Professor Craig, who is outstandingly well-informed on modern German history, presented a brief chronological review.

In Washington, he said, there had been no coordinated policy on post-Hitler Germany; Roosevelt's sole interest had been in ending the war as soon as possible.

While Stalin had pursued detailed objectives the various US government departments in Washington, the State, War and Finance Departments, had pulled different strings (including, for instance, the Morgenthau Plan).

Professor Craig skilfully interwove in his assessment the major historical events:

- the Potsdam conference and agreement,
- the division of Germany into zones of occupation,
- Secretary of State Byrnes' September 1946 Stuttgart speech,
- the failure of the March 1947 Moscow conference of Allied Foreign Ministers,
- Marshall's June 1947 Harvard speech,
- the Berlin blockade and airlift,
- the foundation of the Federal Republic and, in October 1949, of the GDR.

An interesting part by played by George F. Kennan, then a US embassy official in Moscow, who in February 1946 energetically warned Washington in a long cable report that the Soviet Union was intent on pursuing expansionist policies.

His cable created a sensation in Washington, Craig said. Two years later Kennan was equally adamant in rejecting plans to divide Germany.

But by then the Kremlin had shown its hand sufficiently for General Lucius D. Clay, US high commissioner in Germany and a key man at the time, to be able to reply that if the West wanted to hand Germany over to the Russians on a plate, then that was just exactly how to set about it.

US policy toward the defeated foe took shape very slowly, Craig concluded, and was beset by coincidences, clashes of viewpoint, influences and ambiguities.

It took shape by way of reaction and was constantly modified in response to the swift succession of events in Europe.

It was historically untenable to maintain that the United States had envisaged a divided Germany from the outset. America had been neither diplomatically *nor constitutionally prepared for* the role thrust upon it by Moscow.

The corresponding German speaker was historian Arnulf Baring of the Free University in Berlin, who began with personal reminiscences of Germany in 1945 as seen at the time by a German teenager.

He was much more to the point than Craig in defining the part played by Stalin, who alone among Allied leaders had known just what he wanted.

Baring then dealt in detail with US occupation policies such as denazification and re-education, which he termed naive, and with the destitution of the first two post-war years.

He argued that the only alternative to the economic recovery made possible by Marshall aid was Sovietisation of Germany.

His main topic, however, was the Americanisation of West Germany, which began very soon after the war's end.

He quoted Ulrich Plenzdorf's The New Sufferings of Young Werther, in which the hero says jeans are a way of life, *not just trousers.*

He cited many examples from politics, economics, the arts and technology to prove his point that the Federal Republic, as a pupil keen to learn from the United States, was a completely new state in comparison with Bismarck's Reich, the Weimar Republic and Hitler's Germany.

It was the most up-to-date state in Europe, supported by an integrated middle class, secularised and, to quote Dolf Sternberger, committed to "constitutional patriotism," not German nationalism.

Professor Baring's universally positive view was politely amended in debate. Robert G. Livingstone of the American Institute of Contemporary German Studies noted, for instance, that anti-communism had been the cornerstone of the alliance since the Adenauer era.

Anti-communism might still prevail in US foreign policy but it virtually no longer existed in the Federal Republic.

Hans Magnus Enzensberger made use of "poetic licence" in comparing ties between the United States and the Federal Republic with the relationship between rich parents and a poor orphan they had adopted.

Care parcels, Marshall aid and the US role as a protecting power were keynotes of this relationship, but the orphan had now grown up and no longer found presents such as arms and ammunition entirely to his liking.

Enzensberger used the term "ambivalence;" and Fritz Stern referred to it in his summary, saying it was particularly important.

"We aren't anti-American, merely un-American," Enzensberger said, relativising what he said at the PEN congress.

It was a point that ironically relativised the McCarthy stigma, but it was

Continued on page 5

PEN meeting: Günter Grass touches off a salvo

Why did West German writers like criticising the United States so much? a Russian writer in exile asked Günter Grass at the 48th international PEN congress in New York.

Grass had just launched a resounding attack on state and society in the host country. His criticism was nothing new, consisting of the points contemporary German critics have belaboured America with for years.

All that has changed since the mid-1960s has been the immediate targets, with the Vietnam war being replaced by Nicaragua and South Africa and racial discrimination by the no-holds-barred "elbow society."

But the message is the same. America is portrayed as an evil caricature of Western values.

It is too easy to dismiss Grass's attack on the United States with the snide remark that Grass is not to be taken seriously anyway.

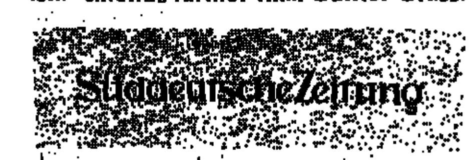
Writers aren't diplomats and aren't supposed to be diplomatic, and Grass was not on his own with his views at the *New York congress.*

He was energetically supported by the ranks of 700 poets, playwrights, essayists and novelists from all over the world.

Even before the jumbo session began, American writers had formed a phalanx of 65 delegates committed to opposing their own Foreign Minister, Secretary of State George Shultz.

His speech, they said, was an affront in that the Reagan administration had done nothing to promote freedom of expression, neither at home nor abroad.

So the problem of "anti-Americanism" extends further than Günter Grass.



Nobel laureate Saul Bellow caustically wondered whether a ludicrous hankering for alienation might not characterise many a Western fellow-writer.

Polish Nobel laureate Czeslaw Milosz, in his contribution toward the counter-offensive, wondered why so many writers were fundamentally opposed to political systems that didn't promise utopias yet defended to the hilt tyrannies that nailed revolutionary visions to their masts.

The Economist, London, ironically commented that there was surely no country in the world people more readily attacked than America and nowhere they more readily did so than in New York.

Criticism comes more easily in a democracy, as does criticism of a democracy, than in a country like Nicaragua, whose PEN delegate, Deputy Interior Minister Cabezas, justified censorship on grounds of national security.

The reason for the fascination exercised by totalitarianism may be even deeper-seated, especially for the literary imagination: democracy is boring.

It certainly is no playground for utopias of salvation. It is more a code of conduct designed to prevent utopias because one man's happiness may be another's distress.

Democracy means constant disputes, mutual blockades and "feeble" compromises.

Democracy isn't a drawing-board for teachings of salvation; it is a mess of pottage the taste of which may be changed, but not the ingredients.

Small wonder that writers and intellectuals of all kinds, sensitive and with the view of their own role they hold, dislike this state of affairs.

Their aim is to change the world and not just explain it. Totalitarianism, both left- and right-wing, wields a twofold attraction.

One is that ideology provides an explanation, the "correct assessment," and establishes order in a confusion of facts and views.

The other is that it provides the dreamer and "social engineer" with a blueprint for thoroughly realigning and modernising state and society.

The attraction of democracy pales in comparison with visions of this kind. So, arguably, does the maxim of clarity that Descartes, a founding father of Western philosophy, saw as a sine qua non of thought.

Clarity of thought *mainly* presupposes the ability to draw distinctions, and no-one can have defended this Cartesian legacy more staunchly in New York than the Israeli poet Amos Oz, who said differentiation was the writer's job.

When Saul Bellow listed a few merits of American democracy Günter Grass rudely interrupted him to suggest he told all that to the homeless in South Bronx, the most deprived area in New York.

The reminder was valid; the *implied* contradiction between freedom and fair distribution wasn't.

There is social security even in a Soviet forced labour camp, yet daily bread is no substitute for the free citizen's inalienable right to defend himself from the state, be it because the state sets up labour camps or because it neglects its duty to take care of the needy.

In material terms black South Africans are much better off than people in neighbouring black African countries. Yet no-one would for a moment consider relativising the crying injustice of apartheid on this account, arguing that a full belly comes first.

Writers, said Amos Oz, worked, or certainly ought to work, in the "department of perspicuity and precision."

Their work presupposed the ability to distinguish between bad, worse and worst.

William Phillips, publisher of the (left-wing) *Partisan Review,* wondered whether terror and oppression in America could really be equated with terror and oppression in Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Oz replied that those who ignored the existence of various degrees of evil would sooner or later come to serve the cause of evil.

Why, then, do German writers and intellectuals so hanker after taking America to task? Is America the problem, or is it Germany?

Historian Hans-Ulrich Wehler noted some years ago that deep dissatisfaction with German society was a wellspring of German anti-Americanism.

By means of a simple projection mechanism criticism of the Federal Republic is transposed to America as the incarnation of Western capitalism, he argued.

But this diagnosis may not go far enough.

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■ THE MEDIA

Newspapers go scalp-hunting in search of bigger sales

Newspapermen are moving from one leading publisher to another on a scale that a year ago would not have been thought possible.

Many of the changes go through ideological barriers. Both management and editorial people on both newspapers and magazines are negotiating the job market in unprecedented numbers.

This is all happening because of a change in attitudes: hard-working, all-round journalists interested in boosting circulation are in demand — professionals without a political barrow to push.

The stage centre is commanded by three people widely regarded as belonging to journalism's jet set: Günther Prinz, Peter Boenisch and Peter Koch.

Günther Prinz is the Axel Springer board member responsible for the company's entire newspaper division. He is a former editor of *Bild-Zeitung* who planned the tabloid colour weekly *Bild der Frau,* which was an instant success.

His predecessor as editor of *Bild-Zeitung,* Peter Boenisch, went on to become chief spokesman for the Federal government in Bonn.

Considered a media expert and a political *bon vivant,* Boenisch is now editorial director of *Bunte,* the illustrated weekly published in Munich by the Burda Group.

Peter Koch was editor of *Stern* magazine, published by Gruner + Jahr in Hamburg, until he mishandled the fake Hitler Diaries.

He went on to write a biography of Konrad Adenauer published by Rowohlt and has now found a well-paid job with the Springer Group he was given to lambasting from his desk at *Stern.*

These three men have emerged as headhunters in a quest for talented journalists they see as giving the print media



in Germany a professional cachet above and beyond political blinkers.

Boenisch is on the lookout for talent at Springer, where he worked for so many years. But it really is all in the family because his employer, Burda, holds a 24.9-per-cent stake in the Springer Group.

The most sensational and revealing headhunting is at *Stern,* where until recently an anti-Springer attitude was almost a mark of quality.

Insiders now refer to the Prinz-Koch brigade as a power group who are causing a furore with their offers of lucrative contracts to *Stern* staff writers.

The latest well-known journalist recruited by Koch is Uwe Zimmer, head of the foreign news desk at *Stern.* Others seem sure to follow despite the TV supplement *Stern* has launched to regain lost circulation.

Zimmer is a talented analyst who skilfully rode the anti-missile, anti-Reagan wave in his years as the *Stern* correspondent in Washington.

But he has lately been feeling unhappy back in Hamburg, where politics and ideological criticism were no longer in demand.

"If the trend toward depoliticisation and de-ideologisation continues," he mused privately a few months ago, "it won't be long before switching from *Stern* to Springer will be no trouble."

Sooner or later: in his case sooner. He is now under contract to Springer as deputy editor-in-chief.

The starting shot in the current headhunting campaign can be said to have been fired by Henri Nannen, longstanding *Stern* editor and publisher.

In an off-the-cuff TV programme made and screened when Axel Springer died last September Nannen was surprisingly generous in saying what a great man and distinguished personality Springer had been — despite their many differences.

As editor of *Stern* Nannen had consistently panned everything to do with Springer, which is pretty well what *Stern* editor Rolf Winter did in his Springer obituary.

So Nannen's fine words on the occa*sion of Springer's death were not* just what he may have felt was expected of him. They were also a sign that his death would mark the beginning of changes in the German media market.

Changes were most likely in the ideological divide that has long split the German press, with attendant ill-will.

At the end of an era for the Springer Group, as board chairman Peter Tamm put it on 9 January 1986, an inevitable period of change, of tectonic movement *in the media geology of the Federal Republic* of Germany, has set in.

It coincides with the onset of the new media — a further sign that de-ideologisation is well under way in German journalism.

The mere death of Axel Springer cannot be the reason why it is suddenly no longer objectionable for a well-paid *Stern* man to switch allegiance to what used to be the root of all journalistic evil for self-respecting left-wingers.

Trends such as this tend to be in the air, like a ripe fruit that is ready to fall. At Springer too there is an unmistakable trend toward the hard-nosed journalistic professionalism that has always been *de rigueur* at some Springer papers.

Everyone is welcome to jump on the bandwaggon who is up to the standards required by the Prinz-Koch brigade.

The long-term repercussions of this trend toward "efficient journalism" and its effect on the fourth estate, the Press, and the public esteem in which it is held in Germany will be more far-reaching than can possibly be suggested.

As in the English-speaking world journalists will be judged by their ability to boost sales of their newspapers and magazines as a common-or-garden consumer product.

There have been clear signs for some time at both ends of the political spectrum that old hands were feeling a little tired of ideology and felt in need of being freed from the fetters of an accepted ideological foe so as to be able to simply make a newspaper or a magazine.

A ready solution would be to quietly join the ranks of hard-sellers, with the emphasis on marketing and sales strategy. A soft appeal may be more in demand at present, but that is a minor detail.

The electronic media are all going flat-out to offer a soft appeal, with the emphasis on entertainment, but that in no way rules out the hard-sell approach.

Prinz, Koch and associates are now planning to launch a new magazine along *Bild-Zeitung* lines. It will be all about cars, and who can doubt that it too will be an instant success, selling two to three million copies?

Germany's young upwardly-mobile professionals are very much in demand and the yuppy market looks like setting the trend for some time.

Growing numbers of German yuppies *correspond* to the growing number of floating voters increasingly less bound by conventional party-political preferences and predisposed to prefer sheer efficiency.

So the new journalist, a clearly-emerging type in the German mass media market, reflects fundamental social changes.

Old ties are giving way to a casuistic consumer behaviour of which subtle diversion or amusement is the only conceivable common denominator.

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 18 January 1986)

Continued from page 4

also — one is bound to add — no more than half the truth.

Marion Dönhoff said the Germans had naturally changed; the Federal Republic of Germany was the freest German state there had ever been.

Why, then, did Washington have so little confidence in its model pupil? Why was opinion in the Federal Republic not taken seriously into account?

Why were such absurd sums of money spent on armaments? In the 1950s $80bn was spent on defending the West, as against $1,000bn in 1985, according to the London Institute of Strategic Studies.

Yet could the West be said to be more secure now than it was then?

The most interesting address — alongside Enzensberger's — was arguably given by David C. Large of Montana State University as a representative of the "new generation."

When he had first stayed in the Federal Republic during the Vietnam war he had been shocked to find that proverbial enthusiasm for everything American had given way to "Yanks Out!" slogans.

Was America really the root of all evil? Was the United States the enemy of detente?

How, for that matter, did America see Germany? It was, for the most part, ignored. Media interest was shown mainly in the more unpleasant aspects of the Nazi era and in voyeuristic films and TV shows.

Intensive education, information and training could help to offset this widespread ignorance. Marion Dönhoff agreed. Professor Large himself was far from optimistic.

Footnote: What a contrast the Goethe House symposium was to the PEN congress three days before! Instead of protest, didactics and pointless waffle the symposium was a civilised debate on a controversial issue by people of widely varying temperaments and widely different views.

It was arranged by Christoph Wecker of the Goethe House as his parting gift to New York and testified to a level of tolerance, academic accuracy and standards seldom achieved by delegates to the PEN congress.

Robert von Berg

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27 January 1986)

■ THE TRADE UNIONS

In-the-red Neue Heimat sends out a may-day

DIE WELT

Neue Heimat, the country's biggest house-building group, is in trouble. It is almost 18 billion marks in debt. This means that its interest payments a year to five dozen creditor banks amount to 1.2 billion marks.

A lot of the money is invested in unproductive property such as undeveloped plots of land (1.2 billion marks) and 7,500 empty and unsold apartments.

Neue Heimat is owned by the German Trades Union Federation, DGB. In 1981, the chairman, Albert Victor departed ingloriously. The affair revealed the extent of mismanagement within the group.

Since then, Neue Heimat and several of its regional subsidiaries have shown themselves financially to be bottomless pits.

The DGB and member unions have so far paid out about DM1.5bn in an effort to keep the group afloat.

Neue Heimat itself has raised more than DM1.7bn by selling off 55,000 flats. But this total of DM3bn turned out to be no more than a drop in the ocean.

Prospects for getting a return on a lot of the invested money is not good. The empty flats and undeveloped land are at a weak end of the property market.

Things are likely to get better in a few years, says Nikolaus Hüwe, a DGB authority on cooperative businesses. But time is running out for Neue Heimat. This is why shareholders began last year finding other ways of raising cash.

Beteiligungsgesell-schaft für Immobilien (BGI), a union-owned holding company, bought about 22,000 Neue Heimat apartments at above market rates — thus taking over the problem of how to sell them.

The cash managed to keep Neue Heimat above water. But, hardly surprisingly, rumour-mongers are having a field day.

Many experts feel that other union enterprises will now be asked to help the Neue Heimat overcome its plight.

This, however, is not as easy as it might seem.

The obvious first choice would be the jewel in the co-operative crown, Volksfürsorge insurance group.

The parent company, the Volksfürsorge Lebensversicherung (life assurance), had an insurance portfolio of DM65.6bn and income contributions amounting to DM2.6bn last year, and it is the second largest company in this field (the biggest is Allianz).

Just like the Beamtenheimstättenwerk (BHW) building society it has a special kind of field organisation — its salesmen are part-time.

Although it is extremely difficult to assess the profits of an insurance company, Volksfürsorge is well off.

About a billion marks was paid out last year in dividends. But it is doubtful if its controlling authorities will allow any great amount of cash to be siphoned off to Neue Heimat.

Even indirect attempts by the financially more than sound Volksfürsorge group to obtain funds for the Neue Heimat would be strictly controlled. A part sale of the company, for example, or of its property insurance, health insurance, legal insurance or reinsurance subsidiaries also seems unrealistic, since potentially interested buyers would probably be other insurance groups and would find it difficult to get past the wary eye of the Federal Cartel Office.

The insurance group has also refused to help out by buying housing units from the Neue Heimat.

As Volksfürsorge spokesman, Wolfgang Otte, explains, "Our housing stock of 30,000 dwelling units is already extremely high by branch standards.

"We simply cannot cope with any more."

Otte denies that his company's resources will be tapped in any other way. "That's absolutely ridiculous", he says.

Relief is also unlikely to come from the union's own bank, the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft (BfG).

Although the BfG has become a profitable commercial bank in recent years following financial problems in the past, it is not in a position to bail out Neue Heimat group.

BfG spokesman Gert Müggenburg emphasises that no capital funding operations are planned to come to the group's financial rescue.

The idea of issuing profit-sharing certificates is no longer being considered.

With total assets of DM48bn the equity capital base of DM2bn is quite adequate.

BfG is also connected with Volksfürsorge, not only via its 25 per cent share of the insurance group, but also via a plan to set up joint branches to offer banking and insurance services to their customers.

The bank, however, does not have a stake in Neue Heimat, a fact which has often been implied during the political discussion of the group's problems.

The BHW building society has also been doing well during recent years.

With 4 million building society savings contracts with a total value of DM163bn, BHW is the clear branch leader.

This building society for public service workers, which, like Volksfürsorge, has part-time insurance agents, caused a stir among its competitors last year by offering a new service called "Dispo 2000", a new kind of building society savings deal, enabling easier access to savings deposits.

The BHW had already shown itself to be a pike in the fishpond on previous occasions, introducing new ideas which are customarily forwarded by the smaller companies in this field.

Collaboration with other co-operative businesses also functions smoothly.

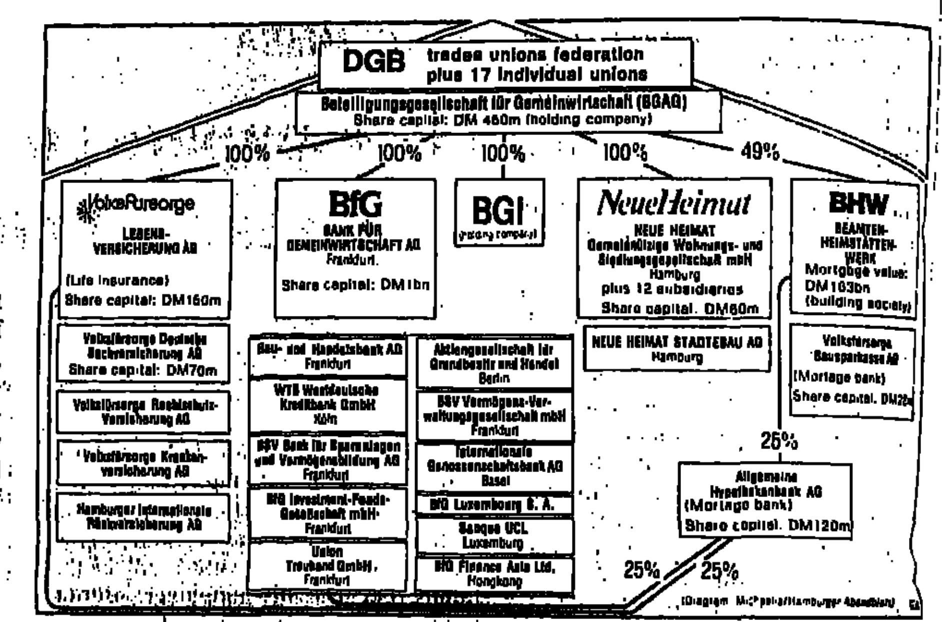
Last year, for example, BHW took over the building society subsidiary of Volksfürsorge group.

Following the setting-up of AHW building society in 1982 this means that BHW now has too companies in the field of building societies for persons who are not civil servants.

Nevertheless, BHW is unlikely to provide financial support for Neue Heimat.

Those shareholders who are not members of a co-operative society would object to such a move.

The co op AG, which was orginally also a co-operative society, was sold by the union-owned BGAG holding company to the Federation of German Consumer Co-operative for DM180m last year.



At the end of 1985, the giant commercial company had a turnover of DM10bn.

Most of the almost 200,000 co op shareholders used to be members of the consumer co-operatives.

In view of the size of financial problems the DM180bn from the sale of co op are no more than a drop in the ocean for the BGAG.

DGB leaders are currently seeking ways of how to obtain more money.

"Any concept is only meaningful", says Nikolaus Hüwe, "if it has the government's approval".

In principle, union officials see only two possible ways of solving the problems facing the Neue Heimat.

Either another chunk of the Neue Heimat's housing stock will — with the help of the government — have to be sold to guarantee the group's existence or the group will have to declare itself bankrupt.

The latter, however, would have disastrous effects, since 270,000 housing units (this was the figure at the end of 1985) would "flood" the market and reduce the already low prices even more.

In such a situation, the probable potential buyers of the bankrupt's estate, the major investors such as banks and insurance companies, would suffer most.

The tenants of these houses, however, would also be hard hit, since the declaration of bankruptcy would mean that there would be no more fixed rent periods.

Rents would then increase substantially (the average rent of Neue Heimat homes is still low at between DM5 and DM5.80) a square metre a month.

Joachim Weber

(Die Welt, Bonn, 22 January, 1986)

What the DGB is

West Germany's Trades Union Federation, DGB, was set up in the Congress Hall of the German Museum in Munich on 14 October, 1949.

487 delegates from the various individual unions, representing 4.95 million members, took part.

Today, the DGB is the umbrella organisation for 17 trade unions.

The largest is the IG Metall (metalworkers' and engineers' union), followed by the Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (public service and transport workers' union) and the IG Chemie, Papier-Keramik (chemical, paper-making and ceramics workers' union).

The smallest is the Gartenbau, Land- und Forstwirtschaft *union* (horticultural, agricultural and forestry workers' union).

Today, 7.7 million blue-collar, white-collar and public service workers are members of the DGB or its 17 member unions, most of them men.

The DGB's main executive body is the national congress, where delegates from all the unions are represented.

The chairman of the DGB's national executive committee is Ernst Breit, a former chairman of the postal workers' union.

Apart from the DGB, there is also a German Union of Salaried Employees (DAG), a Christian Trade Union of Germany (CGB) and a German Civil Servants' Federation (DBB).

DBB has about 800,000 members, DAG 500,000 and CGB about 300,000.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 23 January 1986)

Continued from page 4

ough. Germany's much-vaunted *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, or coming to terms with the past, may also play a leading role.

After 1945 the Germans gladly threw themselves into the Allies' arms because the Allies did not come in the guise of victors.

But America stood for more than chewing gum and Care parcels. It also stood for re-education and the Nuremberg tribunal, and the post-war era is still not over inasmuch as we still rely on US security guarantees.

The judge of yesteryear has donned the mantle of a protecting power, but the moral burden continues to weigh heavily.

It does Germans good to be able to hoist American democrats (with a small) by their own petard, to point an accusing finger at My Lai or the Bronx and to say: "Just look at that, they're no better than we are."

It then follows that the heirs to Germany's collective guilt are not as bad as they have been taught they were.

This motivation is understandable, just as criticism of America is legitimate. But more is needed than the ability to distinguish between what Amos Oz called fairly decent and dreadful systems.

A distinction must also be drawn between one's own unconscious needs and the failings of one's tiresome big brother. There are too few countries in the world where the PEN congress could have been held and delegates would have wanted to meet.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 25 January 1986)

■ PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT

Frankfurt reaches for skies in an orderly fashion



A group of Mannheim investors has discovered the Frankfurt *Hauptbahnhof* (main railway station) and is singing the praises of the 100-year-old building.

The conventional belief is that Leipzig has the biggest railway station in Europe, but members of this investment group are now saying that Frankfurt really has.

They say it handles 260,000 passengers and 1,420 train arrivals and departures a day; that 4,500 trains a day pass through its points system in the junction area; and that there are 4,000 train movements a day in the sidings.

They also say that high-speed trains will increase the station's importance from the 1990s.

Why is this investment group so effusive? Because it is investing in a skyscraper right next to the station.

Its plan is for a 201-metre (about 656 feet) building which would be nine metres (29 feet 6 inches) shorter than the tallest building in Western Europe, the Tour de Montparnasse in Paris.

If communications aerials are included then the building would be as tall as the tallest building in the whole of Europe, the tower of Moscow's Lomonossov University (if its aerials are included).

However, it will have 60 storeys compared to the Moscow building's 28.

Just a few days after the project was announced, Frankfurt newspapers carried stories saying that the organisation which runs the Frankfurt Fair plans to build an even bigger building.

Local editions of national papers said it was going to be 70 storey and would be 250 metres (about 820 feet) high.

Wrong, said a Frankfurt Fair executive. It would only be about 200 metres (about 656 feet).

Although both buildings will tower over anything else in West Germany, they are mere tiddlers by American standards. The Sears Tower in Chicago, for example, is 443 metres high (more than 1,400 feet). The World Trade Center in New York is 413 metres (more than 1,200 feet).

West Germany's largest building, the Dresdner Bank building in Frankfurt, is 155 metres high (just over 500 feet), only about two-thirds of the height of the two planned buildings.

During the 1960s and 1970s planning in Frankfurt was chaotic. That has all changed. The two new skyscrapers have been integrated into an ambitious town-planning scheme.

Via future-oriented planning Frankfurt Mayor Walter Wallmann wants to emphasise the city's location and economic advantages in the international competition among Europe's trade and traffic centre cities.

City planner Hans Küppers outlined Frankfurt's city planning strategy six months ago at a conference of experts in Bonn.

He said that what Frankfurt lacked was not space but prestigious locations.

Frankfurt's planners have set greater store on quality of life and leisure for executives rather than on commercial and educational infrastructure.

Küppers summarised Frankfurt city's plans by saying that "today the quality of life has become a crucial factor in commercial and industrial development:

In Frankfurt this involved rebuilding the city centre in a stunning manner, acceptably renovating districts in the city, mainly with sophisticated family accommodation and ecological balance."

He said that Frankfurt had the disadvantage of not having a lake in the middle (like Hamburg) or large gardens (like Munich). Neither did it have a Baltic Sea or mountains nearby.

He continued: "We have to rely on the qualities of the city itself such as the museums on the banks on the Main, the Old Opera House, the Book Fair and a city that is a cultural centre. When considering where to locate corporate headquarters companies put great store on these considerations, as do companies that are considering whether to stay or move somewhere else."

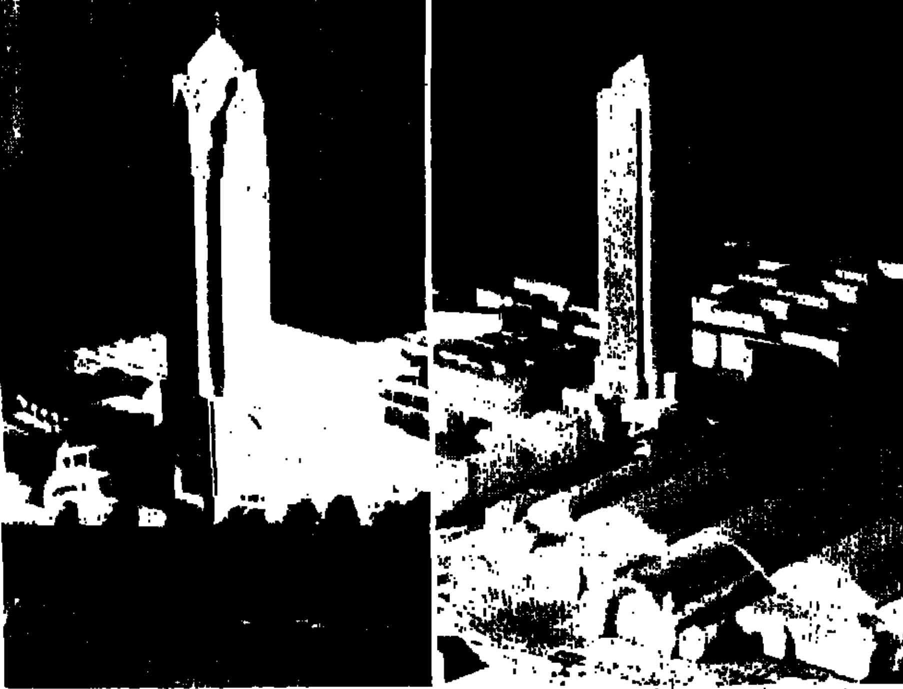
This was confirmed a few days later by Hans Messer, president of the Frankfurt chamber of commerce and industry, speaking at a New Year reception given by Mayor Wallmann to 2,000 representatives from commerce and industry in the Rhine-Main area. Hans Messer's words were roundly applauded.

All those who are reminded by the new Frankfurt building boom of the 1960s and 1970s are on the wrong track. Buildings will not be just thrown up but constructed with sophisticated, spectacular, competitive architecture, up to international standards.

In the past year alone three new museums were opened in Frankfurt, a fourth celebrates the topping-out ceremony in a few days' time, a fifth is being built, and the sixth and seventh should begin construction sometime this year.

During the course of this year the city plans to hold a competition for the design of the eighth.

The list of architects reads like an international who's who in architecture: Oswald Mathias Ungers (Cologne), Richard Meier (New York), Helge Bofinger (Wiesbaden), Ante Josip von Kostelac (Darmstadt), Josef Paul Kleinhues (West Berlin), Günther Benisch (Stuttgart) and Hans Hollein (Vienna).



High profile. Models of (left) the Frankfurt Fair building and the railway station building. (Photo: Die Welt)

Well-known architects are commissioned to design underground stations and multistoreyed car parks in Frankfurt, and are invited to submit plans for city squares and for the new super-zoo at Niederursel.

The post-modern star architect Ungers is involved in two projects. He is to restore the splendid, old fair building in the Frankfurt Fair complex — one of the largest and most impressive buildings for major events in the country.

He is also responsible for drawing up the structural plans for Frankfurt's City West — an area covering 125 acres with considerable stretches of wasteland with good links to the Fair complex.

The main ideas the civic authorities have for building policy are reflected in this one site alone.

According to the municipal gazette issued just before Christmas "concrete wastes" are out. There are to be no "soulless piles of office blocks".

Plans concentrate on a play between construction schemes and designs that break up the monotony, a combination of buildings old and new.

New multi-storey buildings will be grouped as "a modern gateway to the city and create an imposing entrance to it."

In Frankfurt it is confidently expected that the demand for office accommodation will continue unabatted.

According to the official gazette, quoting experts, year after year between 400 and 500 new firms move to the city and the annual demand for new office accommodation is about 100,000 square metres.

Space is to be provided in the new City West district and in developments along the main Hanau and Mainz roadways. In City West there should be jobs for 20,000 by the end of the century.

Architecture is becoming more and more a decisive and meaningful factor in this kind of planning. This was recently brought home to Helmut Joos, himself of Frankfurt, who has been named by the Mannheim investors to construct the multi-storey building at the station.

His designs for the station building came under immediate criticism, not because of their scope but because of their style.

He proposed a kind of "Campanile" with arcades in the tower-like building, fitting into the historic buildings that make up the railway station.

Albert Speer junior and a colleague, asked to comment on the designs for the municipality, regarded the tower as "too massive," and the curator of the West German Architecture Museum, Heinrich Klotz could not see any meaningful coordination with other projects.

It has now been decided to invite architects to submit designs in a competition for the project in view of its importance for the city.

A more sophisticated design will be sought for in place of Joos' intention of giving Frankfurt "a skyline in keeping with the 1990s."

Executives at the Frankfurt Fair organisation knew better than to court irritations of this kind for their project, that is to be financed by third party investors and will not be used at the beginning by the Fair organisation.

By staging a competition they have gained the services of an absolutely top man in multi-storey building construction, Helmut Jahn from Nuremberg. In America he has been called a "Teutonic prodigy" for his unconventional, audacious skyscrapers.

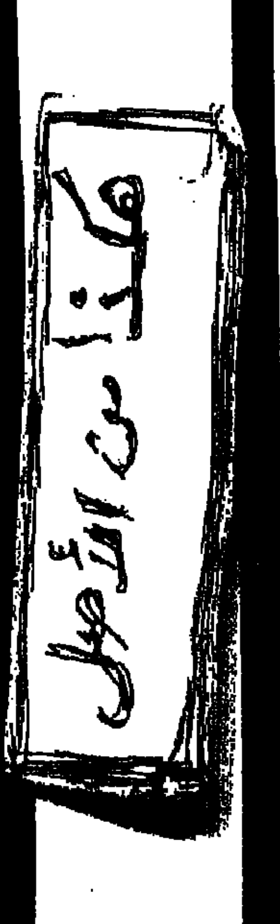
The competition put up by the "superman" of post-modern architecture has been bitter for local architects, but it should be an incentive to them.

No matter how you look at it Jahn has let his fantasy take flight.

Multi-storey building designs for Frankfurt submitted over the past few weeks and months by Helge Bofinger,

Continued on page 8

The rising skyline of Frankfurt. (Photo: dpa)



■ DÜSSELDORF BOAT SHOW

Record number of visitors and orders expected as leisure spending rises

A record 300,000 visitors are expected at the 17th Düsseldorf boat fair. It is the largest boat fair in the world.

With the economy on the mend, turnover is expected to reach record levels.

The show began in 1969 as a regional event. But now it has outstripped the Hamburg boat show. It has the world's highest turnover in water sports business.

Stands in 15 halls have been booked by 1,614 exhibitors from 32 countries. Over an area of 139,000 square metres, the equivalent of roughly 200 tennis courts, they present a comprehensive range of water sports equipment.

First comes the boat section, accounting for 52 per cent, followed by engines, electronics and equipment with 18 and surfing with 11 per cent.

Surfing manufacturers hit the headlines last summer, threatening to hold a surfing fair of their own in Frankfurt to clash with Düsseldorf, but were persuaded to return to the fold.

Surfing slumped somewhat last year, with only 60,000 surfboards sold in the Federal Republic, but the range of brand names and equipment on show at Düsseldorf was fully, internationally comprehensive.

The Dutch head the list of foreign exhibitors, with 155, followed at some distance by Britain and Italy, with 51 and 48 respectively.

Finland, specially featured this year, exhibited in Düsseldorf for the tenth time. Boats are indispensable on the 187,888 Finnish lakes and countless rivers.

Finnish boatbuilders can look back on centuries of tradition. The Federal Republic of Germany is a major market, accounting for nine per cent of Finnish exports.

Finnboat's Bjarne Nordgren sees Düsseldorf as yet another reason for stepping up export endeavours and boosting sales in the German market.

"We are busy taking over the German market," says Finnish Foreign Trade Minister Jermu Laine, arguably for domestic consumption.

Finland is running an annual trade deficit of DM2bn, importing goods worth DM5.5bn and exporting DM3.5bn, and the going is getting steadily tougher.

The Finns are easy-going nature-lovers. One in 10 owns a boat. New ideas are no problem.

Finnish boatmakers run a floating laboratory, the Sail-Lab, to test and improve new designs.

The boat is made half of glass fibre-reinforced plastic and half of a sandwich-pattern honeycomb structure. Materials are tested in a wide range of conditions.

For the price of a ticket at the turnstile, DM12, Düsseldorf could make almost every boat-owner's (or would-be boat-owner's) dreams come true on an oceanic scale — at least for the day.

Boats on show range from inflatable dinghies for a few hundred marks (sneered at by many yet increasingly better in performance) to the Jongert 2200 S, 22 metres long and selling at DM3m or more.

At this upper end of the market prices vary, with virtually anything available at a price to catch the eye or tickle the fancy of the waterborne jet set.

For those who lack the hard cash there is nothing to beat hard work. Do-it-yourself kits are very popular. *Yacht* magazine has plans at the ready. A do-it-yourself trend seems about to be set.

Used boat registers are well established and very much into computers. Anyone can advertise a boat or surfboard for sale in the Kati computer register for a DM20 fee.

Boats and surfboards in all price ranges are exhibited in Düsseldorf alongside equipment and accessories for anglers, divers, charters, cruises and other forms of waterborne holiday.

The regatta basin, 60 metres long and 20 metres wide, is as popular as ever. This year Pertti Karppinen and Peter-Michael Kolbe single-sculled for all they were worth. Kolbe won.

Non-stop singlehanded round-the-world yachtsman Wilfried Erdmann showed boat show visitors round his *Kathena nui*.

Two top-rank chefs served tasty menus four metres under water, while beginners were taught to improve their knotsmanship.

As the leading water sports marketplace, Düsseldorf attracts politicians and sports fans alike.

Land Ministers of Sport and heads of water and shipping boards were present. Their decisions are sure to wield a crucial influence on water sports.

Willi Weyer, president of the German Sports League (DSB) and patron of the boat show, said the Federal government was way off track with its environment policies.

It was hypocritical to license commercial shipping and drilling for oil in the North Sea mudflats and to ban a few hundred water sports enthusiasts from the waterways.

Water rats had long taken the 10 golden rules to heart without needing coercion.

Bonn Transport Minister Werner Dollinger, who admitted that the only sailing he had ever done was in a rubber dinghy, said water sports associations were doing fine work to ensure common sense and consideration on the waterways.

Even more regimentation would spoil the Germans' holiday fun on the water as effectively as last year's poor weather did.

Professor Horst Opaschowski of Hamburg said the Germans were keen on water sports and prepared to pay for the privilege even though they had less spare cash for leisure pursuits in real terms.

"Leisure spending by the Germans has doubled since 1974/75," he said. "Changing values is the keyword that explains the phenomenon."

Against a background of saturated consumer durables markets ranging from TV sets to washing machines material considerations were growing steadily less important in comparison with career considerations.

Sixty-three per cent of Germans are opposed to earning less in return for more spare time, arguably because higher earnings have failed to keep pace with extra leisure time.

Material considerations assume greater importance in this connection, with TV as a leisure pursuit that costs next to nothing gaining ground as a result.

Professor Opaschowski sees a realignment of material and immaterial values as accompanying significant population changes. The number of people under 20 is in the process of declining by 24 per cent, while over-50s are increasing in number by 24 per cent.

Leisure pursuits favoured by the young, such as rowing, ice skating, football, handball and athletics, are either marking time or on the decline.

Adult sports are either holding their own or gaining ground. They include sailing and boating, angling, golf, tennis, cycling, cross-country running and skiing.

Professor Opaschowski, who is in charge of the BAT leisure research institute, Hamburg, has high hopes of water sports.

Karl-Heinz Wismer of the Düsseldorf trade fair organisers is confident this year's boat show will break all records.

With the German economy on the mend (if not the weather) one might be tempted to paraphrase Goethe and visualise the ice breaking for a bumper water sports spring.

Hans Schiemann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 25 January 1986)

Continued from page 7

the Jourdan office in Frankfurt, the young architect from Karlsruhe Robert Hiegel, the young Frankfurt architect Christoph Mäckler held their own against extravagant competition from America and the Far East.

Joos and all others are bound to be compared with the spate of brilliant entries for the Frankfurt Fair comlex skyscraper.

But market mechanisms must not be underestimated. It is getting increasingly more difficult to sell buildings with poor exteriors. They do no good for business or a company's image.

The moment of truth will come when the DM385 million "Campanile" and its 65,000 square metres of space in Frankfurt is ready to be rented or leased for hotels, as office space, for banks, businesses, restaurants and as showrooms, hopefully, as the investors have said, to "first-class, international major companies."

Just when the railway station skyscraper is ready the Jahn tower will come on the market with 50,000 square metres of space along with about twenty-times more office space in City West.

This enormous amount of space is only going to find tenants if it is of the topmost quality. Anything less is unlikely to get anywhere.

D. Guratzsch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 25 January 1986)

■ MOTORING

The day Berta Benz put the wind up Mannheim

Full gas ahead! An artists' impression of Carl Benz at the helm in Munich in September 1888. (Photo: archives)

Berta Benz, wife of Carl Benz, whose motorised three-wheeler was patented 100 years ago, will probably get little recognition in this centenary year of the automobile.

Yet she played an important part in demonstrating that her husband's invention was a practical piece of engineering and not a hare-brained scheme.

Carl Benz, a brilliant engineer and inventor, first startled the people of Mannheim with his car in autumn 1885.

Benz had previously exhibited it in Paris, but it had gone unnoticed in the ranks of elegant coaches.

No-one showed much interest in a vehicle that smelt of petrol, was noisy and made the motorist's hands dirty.

Intellectuals dismissed Benz as a madman. The public saw his infernal machine as the work of the Devil. Berta alone believed in her husband and his invention — and was determined to help him.

One morning in August 1888, she and her sons Eugen, 15, and Richard, 13, wheeled the motor-car out of its garage. Her husband, 41, was still asleep.

They pushed it round the next street-corner and cranked up the engine. Their plan was to drive from Mannheim to Pforzheim, a breathtaking 140km (88 miles) in a coach-and-horses age.

They made it to nearby Heidelberg without difficulty at speeds of up to 15kph (9mph), but the gradients north of Heidelberg were too much for the one-horse-power engine. Berta and Eugen pushed the recalcitrant vehicle. Richard steered it. The leather brake linings wore out; Berta had a village shoemaker reline them.

The engine broke down, its fuel intake blocked. Berta unblocked it with a hatpin. Fuel tank capacity was negligible, so they had to stop at one pharmacy after another for a refill.

When the ignition gave trouble, Berta fixed it with a garter. The drive chain snapped just after Bruchsal. The boys borrowed tools from a blacksmith and Berta did another quick repair job.

Despite these many incidents she and the boys arrived in Pforzheim safe and sound that evening and cabled the news home.

Berta Benz was not just the world's first woman motorist. She was also its first woman test driver. Her husband made major improvements to his design on the basis of her findings.

She had proved that her husband's invention was not mere madness. He felt greatly encouraged and decided to do more motoring himself in future to publicise his horseless carriage.

In September 1888 he drove it in Munich. "Never have people in the city's streets seen such a strange sight," a Munich newspaper wrote, "as on Saturday afternoon when a horseless carriage drove along Herzog-Heinrich-Strasse at top speed.

"A gentleman was seated in the three-wheeled carriage as it headed toward the city centre powered by neither steam nor the motorist's foot power.

"It rounded corners without the least difficulty, avoiding oncoming traffic but followed by a stream of breathless young people running after it."

One reason why Berta Benz may not have been sufficiently honoured for her pioneering achievement is that views differ on who sired the motor-car and when.

Five hundred years ago Leonardo da Vinci had visions of a horseless carriage, a machine to do the donkey work, in Renaissance Italy.

He drew up plans for a self-propelling carriage powered by a system of springs. It was arguably the first automobile, but it was never built.

Three years ago the French discovered previously unknown documents purportedly showing that the motor-car was invented by a Frenchman, Edouard Delamare-Deboutteville.

His horseless carriage is said to have been on the road in 1883. The patent was applied for on 12 February 1884, but the engine blew up on a test run.

The Italian version of the first automobile is more convincing, technologically speaking.

Enrico Bernardi mounted a 0.024-horse-power petrol engine on a sturdy tricycle in Verona. He named it Pia after his daughter and applied for a patent in 1884.

But no evidence survives to prove that the vehicle ever moved under its own steam, as it were. And that is an essential prerequisite.

The inventor of the automobile must have fulfilled the following requirements:

- Authentic documentation must survive
- Design blueprints and patent documents must exist
- The vehicle must have been driven in practice and tested in public
- It must also have exercised an influence on further development of the motor-car.

By these yardsticks the automobile was definitely born in Mannheim 100 years ago, on 29 January 1886, when Carl Benz was granted German patent No. 37,435 for his motor-car.

Yet the automobile centenary is a double-barrelled event. Almost at the same time Gottlieb Daimler was experimenting with his four-wheeled motor-car in Bad Cannstatt, Stuttgart.

The first Daimler looked like a horseless carriage yet had everything that makes up an automobile: an engine, a gear lever, a steering wheel, brakes and lamps.

Daimler and Benz are said never to have met, but their firms later teamed up as Daimler-Benz, the oldest motor manufacturers in the world and a leading German industrial firm.

Benz beat Daimler by a short head, but Daimler was the inventor of the motorcycle. He and his brilliant engineer Wilhelm Maybach wanted to test their engine first on a two-wheeler.

His motorcycle, with a frame of solid ash and a 264-cc single-cylinder engine developing 0.5 horse power was patented on 29 August 1885.

But he then lost interest in the idea.

Benz in contrast built the world's first motor-car. He did so without the slightest precedent. He designed his own carburetter and his own ignition.

Unlike others, he didn't just convert a coach; he designed a vehicle suitable for the new means of propulsion.

Had he not done so, others would have. The time was ripe. New ideas were invented almost daily. One inventor could base his ideas on another's.

Arthur Dunlop, an Irish vet, hit on the idea of pneumatic tyres while playing football with his son. He patented it in 1888.

Robert Bosch invented magnetic ignition in 1887. The first compression ring was invented in 1889. Rudolf Diesel patented his engine in 1892.

Over 4,000 firms have made cars since Carl Benz. They include once-famous names now long forgotten.

Who now knows that the largest carmaker in Germany until 1925 was Brennabor, the Brandenburg bicycle manufacturer, with an output of 120 a day.

This figure was not exceeded until Opel manufactured the first assembly-line model in Rüsselsheim, Frankfurt.

In those days motor-cars were strictly for the rich. Only in America were they quick to become a popular mode of transport.

Henry Ford began as a racing driver at the wheel of cars imported from Germany.

Then he designed a car of his own. The Model T, costing $950, was not initially a best-seller. It cost too much for the average American.

He had his brilliant idea of assembly-line mass production after visiting the Chicago stockyards, where each worker performed only one operation.

Mass production cut the cost of the Tin Lizzy to $295, yet Ford was still able to pay his workers twice the ordinary wage *and* make a profit.

His record survived until the 1970s when the Volkswagen beetled into the lead. Twenty-one million VW Beetles seem sure to remain an all-time world record.

The Beetle came to symbolise the post-war German economic miracle. It was also a really popular model, or people's car, as the name implies.

It is still built in Mexico, Brazil and Nigeria — all countries where the sturdy VW is spearheading mass motorisation just as it did in Germany 40 years ago.

Gerhard Berngruber

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 25 January 1986)

■ OBITUARY

Joseph Beuys: pushing bathtubs through open doors

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The homburg was Joseph Beuys' hallmark. The Düsseldorf sculptor never took it off. It covered a war wound and shielded a metal plate in his skull from inquisitive glances.

Beuys, who died on 24 January aged 64, was hollow-cheeked, ascetic, with a piercing stare. He cut an agile figure in his shirt sleeves and combat jacket with its pockets filled to overflowing.

Many mistakenly felt they knew him, the artist for whom art assumed the proportion of immeasurable life and, at the last, a political vision.

His enthusinstic fans as little understood Beuys the artist or Beuys the man as did his many enemies and critics.

Critics complained that his complex artistry, hidden behind gestures, was the work of a charlatan or a witch doctor. They also opposed his line of political resistance.

Was Joseph Beuys really the greatest living German artist? That hardly matters now we have just learnt that he has died of heart failure at 64 after lengthy illness.

Beuys was undoubtedly the best-known and most influential post-war German artist at home and abroad and one of the most significant teachers and forces for change in art ever.

He was more than a mere cult figure of the unruly 1960s generation that believed life could be changed in art and by art and whose resignation he shared to the last in a manner that commanded respect.

He owed his fame and repute in the art world not just to spectacular happenings despite accusations to this effect levelled at an artist who broke all bounds, an unruly professor at Düsseldorf art academy and a founder-member of the Greens in North Rhine-Westphalia.

His partial, controversial success as a draughtsman, happening organiser and sculptor in Germany and his rising star in the international art market, where his work commanded six-figure sums, culminated in international success in 1979 when the Guggenheim Museum in New York held a full-scale Beuys retrospective.

He was the first living German artist to be given this accolade.

He was born on 12 May 1921 in Krefeld, where his father was in business. He began as a boy to collect objects and people around him "like a herdsman," as he once said.

He was interested in science and biology and studied science at university but left to fight in the Second World War, serving in the Luftwaffe.

He was shot down in a dive bomber over Russia and seriously injured on more than one occasion.

Traumatic wartime experiences and human encounters with the nomadic life between the fronts influenced his mythical view of the world and characterised his early graphic art.

He was a British prisoner of war, returning to study painting and sculpture in Düsseldorf, where he was a master pupil of Ewald Mataré's and, from 1961, himself a teacher at the art academy.

His views on a radical extension of the concept of art that he particularly advocated in connection with sculpture made him a leading member of the avant-garde.

His sense of political commitment and participation in protest against students turned down by the academy led to a clash with North Rhine-Westphalian Science Senator (now Premier) Johannes Rau, who suspended him in 1972.

After litigation Beuys could only teach privately in his studio, but interest in his "Free International University" and his influence on up-and-coming young artists remained substantial.

In 1979 he accepted the nowly-created chair of design at the Vienna college of applied art.

He proved no less easy to handle as a member of the Greens, the anti-nuclear, ecological party he helped to found in North Rhine-Westphalia. He was trenchantly critical of intolerance and trends toward homogenisation among the Greens.

His artistic output developed from subtle statements centring on magic images to a symbolistic object art that formed part of a demonstrative total art concept.

The provocative materials he used included felt for warmth, fat for stockpiling and so on. They were so overladen with meaning that at times they barred access to his imaginative and, initially, far from dogmatic new ideas in sculpture.

The sensitive noses of the art-loving public failed to follow his smelly aesthetios, his poetry of rancid lumps of margarine and decomposing fishbones and the uncompromising character of his total art projects.

They included an ecological total art project for areas landfilled with sludge from the port of Hamburg and his insistence up to and including litigation that his bathtub objects were works of art.

Even official patrons were put off. Was his fragile art, demonstrating extreme decrepitude and formal uselessness, the writing on the wall of the helpless overall condition of art?

His educational vision of a total creativity ("Everyone is an artist") influenced by Rudolf Steiner was, in the final analysis, probably laughed at more than it was understood.

Yet it was aimed at aesthetically educating man and "socially sculpting" a humane society.

Beuys was a sensitive artist and an even greater dreamer, a sad clown of the media age whose Dada-style wit didn't always work and whose creative force finally crumbled in manic actionism.

But he was neither a charlatan nor a fraud. He invested his material success in dreams of a better life, gestures such as the planting of 7,000 oak saplings, a project due to be completed in time for next year's Documenta in Kassel.



Joseph Beuys . . . broke all bounds. (Photo: Sven Simon)

He belonged to the category of naive and despairing optimists who continue to plant trees on the brink of disaster.

So many are his pupils (and, sad to say, his unthinking imitators) and so great is his influence on three-dimensional contemporary art that his ideas are clearly only beginning to bear fruit.

He was a major originator of new ideas, a man who constantly opened new doors, arguably more than could or should ever be passed through.

Wolfgang Rainer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 January 1986)

■ MUSIC

The romantic of the baton

Wilhelm Furtwängler, who was born 100 years ago, saw himself more as a composer. But for 30 years *he was undeniably the leading German* orchestra conductor.

He began his career with the conductor's baton at the Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig, culminating at the helm of the Berlin Philharmonic.

He was a superb interpreter of both 19th century and modern music but particularly favoured the major symphonic work of Beethoven, Brahms and Bruckner.

He stayed on in Nazi Germany, which earned him much hostility despite his clashes with the Nazis. Toscanini roundly accused him of being a Nazi.

He wasn't, but the accusation was typical of the hostility and disappointment many musicians felt about his failure to break with the Third Reich.

His critics failed to realise how much could be achieved by a man in his position in Nazi Germany and how hard he worked for the sake of "his" Berlin Philharmonic.

He first worked under Hans Pfitzner at the Strasbourg Opera House in 1910 aged 24, moving to Lübeck and his first appointment as a conductor on his own behalf the following year.

He so delighted audiences and critics alike that in 1912 he took on the influential post of chief conductor in Mannheim.

In 1922, aged 36, he became conductor at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig and took over from Artur Nikisch at the Berlin Philharmonic. At one fell swoop he became the most famous conductor in the country.

In December 1934 he resigned in protest and annoyance at the Nazi campaign against Paul Hindemith, who was dismissed by the Third Reich as a "cultural Bolshevik."

The international press reacted most unfavourably toward the Nazis and many Berlin concert-goers returned their season tickets in protest.



Wilhelm Furtwängler . . . criticised during Third Reich. (Photo: IP)

Yet from the 1935/36 season he resumed responsibility for the Philharmonic concerts, some of which he entrusted to visiting conductors.

Details can be read in the book *Musik im Schatten der Politik* (Music in the Shadow of Politics) by his longstanding secretary Berta Geissmar.

The former general manager of the Berlin Philharmonic, 81-year-old Wolfgang Stresemann (whose father was Reich Chancellor and Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann), says in his memoirs that Furtwängler "opted for inner emigration and preferred to offer what protection he could to his musicians."

There was never any mention at the time of concessions Furtwängler had made to the Nazis but, Stresemann points out, "the man at the helm of the Philharmonic (had) to come to *terms*, like other leading public figures, with the increasingly stern leaders of the Third Reich, tacitly taking the circumstances into account and making concessions."

Yet even those who might have preferred to see Furtwängler emigrate can hardly fail to acknowledge, Stresemann feels, that his attitude during the Nazi years was a noble one.

Music critic Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt stressed that during the Third Reich Furtwängler had used the full weight of his authority in support of musicians or works of music the Nazis deemed undesirable.

From 1947 the Allied denazification committee in Berlin allowed him to perform again. The "Romantic of the baton," as he was called, wrought his old magic once more.

In 1950 he wrote to the management committee in connection with concert tours planned for the Berlin Philharmonic that: "The only colleague to whom I have any objections is Karajan. There can naturally be no objection to him conducting in Berlin but I cannot recommend him for tours."

Furtwängler stressed that while he felt not the slightest rivalry toward Karajan the same could not be said of Karajan's attitude toward him.

In 1951 he referred to "most unpleasant experiences" with Karajan as a colleague.

In November 1954 he summoned orchestra manager Gerhart von Westermann to his sickbed in Baden-Baden, saying: "My dear Westermann, I have called for you to take my leave and to thank you. Please give my orchestra my kind regards."

He died on 30 November 1954 aged 68.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 25 January 1986)

■ LITERATURE

Books reveal tribulations of Turkish women

DIE ZEIT



Saliha Scheinhardt . . . reconciling differences. (Photo: Jochen Wilhelm)

Authoress Saliha Scheinhardt, who is Turkish, said: "I feel at home here. I have decided to stay in this country."

She meant the Federal Republic and not Turkey, which she left 18 years ago.

Offenbach could become her new home when she has finished her official period as resident writer there in two years' time.

Saliha Scheinhardt, 35, won the Offenbach Literary Prize, which carries with it DM44,000, following in the footsteps of Hans-Christian Kirsch, Hanne F. Juritz and Horst Bingel.

The city council gave her the Prize in recognition of her work "reconciling differing cultures," and the council wants her to examine new possibilities of "integrating foreign citizens culturally and from a language point of view."

Offenbach has a population of 110,000, of which about 20 per cent are foreigners, 3,000 of them Turks.

Saliha Scheinhardt is putting together material on people of differing cultures, a knowledge of which is essential for reconciliation.

She has collected material dealing with Turkish women whose husbands have left the family to work abroad.

In her first book, *Frauen, die sterben, ohne dass sie gelebt hätten* (Women who die without having lived), that appeared in 1983, she told the story of a Turkish women who murdered her husband, a "German Turk", because she could not go along with the demands increasingly made of her that followed western norms and the western lifestyle.

Her second book, *Drei Zypressen* (Three cypresses) dealt with the crisis of identity that young Turkish girls experience growing up in the Federal Republic, divided between the two cultures.

In her latest book, *Und die Frauen weinten Blut* (And the women wept blood) she reports on three women who live in the slums of large Turkish cities.

She lived for six months in poverty-stricken quarters in Turkish cities without official permission. These cities are places of refuge for Anatolian farmers before they take off towards the "promised land", the Federal Republic.

These reports, which Saliha Scheinhardt collected from Turkish women over a period of four years, could be a rough outline of her own life.

Her father was a labourer, Her mother never went to school.

At ten, in her free time, Saliha Scheinhardt worked in a bakery. At 15 she worked as a tourist guide in her home town in Anatolia, Konya, the former centre of the Seljuk empire of the Middle Ages.

Her love for a German theology student who had learned Turkish, drew young Sahila into conflict with her staunchly Moslem family who rejected the idea of marriage.

In the end, along with her German fiancée Sahila, 17, plucked up enough courage to make a start in West Germany.

Urged on by an unbridled wish to learn she tried to come to terms with West German society, so different from what she had known, a culture that wanted to push her back to a child-like level with, for instance, the use of baby talk German. Whilst working as a seamstress, a waitress and as a stewardess she learned that this language "was the manifestation of a tough but subtle culture."

Despit her education, studies in educational theory and the sciences Saliha Scheinhardt has found it difficult to bridge the gap between her present life and her past.

She said: "In my first book I wrote about a mulberry tree in which I often played as a child. I also told of a small sick hen or of the times when early in the morning I sold sprigs of mint in the market before going to school. These are symbols of my nostalgia, my longing for home."

Modernisation in Turkey causes these child memories to fade. She is depressed at the way the country is adjusting to western civilisation.

She commented: "In many Anatolian villages there is no doctor but the people can watch *Dallas* on television."

Professional criticism of her work that maintains she only "documents", that her work cannot be regarded as literature, does not bother her.

"My first concern is with authenticity," she says. "That is why I do my research as if I were going to write a report, and I analyse my conversations in this way. In the stories I want to retain the speech mannerisms of women from the lower classes and still remain comprehensible."

She does not regard herself as representing "German-Turkish literature" but more as an authoress who writes in German, who wants to reach out to Germans and her young fellow-countrymen and women who have grown up in the Federal Republic.

Like other foreign writers of her generation such as the Italian Franco Biondi or the Turk Rafik Schami she concentrates on literature that demonstrates the conflicts stirred up by encounters with, and confrontation by, differing cultures.

One of the most important projects that Saliha Scheinhardt has initiated as "writer in residence" in Offenbach involves getting together women from ten nations.

In the book prepared in collaboration with the women themselves Saliha Scheinhardt plans to document how women get through the daily routine in "a country that is so inhospitable."

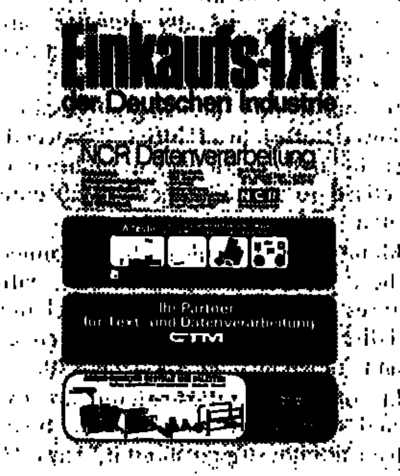
In a workshop young people, German and foreign, will be encouraged to write about the problems of their life alongside each other.

Saliha Scheinhardt said that "our hope for the future rests in synthesis," and she means by that "mixing" German and Turkish cultures to produce something new."

Saliha Scheinhardt no longer seriously considers returning to Turkey. She says of her official period as "writer in residence" in Offenbach "I have been welcomed here with open arms. Why should I go off again?"

Anton J. Weinberger

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 24 January 1986)



Gerty Molzen . . . walk on the wild side. (Photo: dpa)

■ POP MUSIC

A grandma hits the high notes

Gerty Molzen gives the lie to the belief that pop music is for the young.

At 80, she has recorded her version of the Lou Reed classic "Take a walk on the wild side", and the single is number one in the New York disco scene.

Gerty Molzen is the daughter of a Glücksburg shipowner and in January she celebrated her 80th birthday with a second hit, "Do you really want to hurt me?" the question asked in English with a North German accent.

This German touch goes down well in America and Britain, and it is not put on. Gerty Molzen says that she learned to speak English like this.

She admits that a year ago she had no idea of getting into pop music. For many years she has had a lot to do with music and began singing over fifty years ago.

She studied singing among other things in Munich and appeared as an alto in many European cities.

She sang at Cathedral concerts in Salzburg and enchanted audiences in Vienna and Milan.

Accompanied by the Chopin expert Professor Josef Pembauer she gave lieder recitals and provided the singing parts for Elisabeth Flickenschildt in Gustav Gründgeh's film version of *Effi Brest* by Theodor Fontane.

As a singer she did not just perform the classics. She learned to accompany herself on the piano, and worked up a

Continued on page 14

■ STUDENTS

It's still cut and thrust in the fraternities

KielerNachrichten

German student fraternities, often dismissed as outmoded, are still going strong. A century or more ago they were regarded as revolutionaries. Nowadays their alumni include Chancellors, Nobel Prize-winners and heads of state.

More students seem to be joining fraternities to drink and carouse than turn up for student demonstrations and join in choruses of "We shall overcome."

Kiel alone has 18 student fraternities with between 800 and 1,000 members. Their public image is still the hackneyed cliché of students duelling with swords or drinking each other under the table.

Many Germans still feel student fraternities are formidable mainly for their consumption of beer, plus duel-scarred faces by which they can be recognised by others of the species.

Erhard Prelle, head of student fraternity alumni in Kiel, says this cliché is exaggerated. "Before the First World War students fought 8 to 15 duels; now they usually limit themselves to two, and some fraternities even make duelling optional."

Fraternities certainly come in all shapes and sizes. Some duel, others don't; some wear uniforms, others don't.

Even so, 10 of the 18 Kiel fraternities still insist on members duelling. "Duelling welds people together," says Frank-Walter Hulsenbeck, 25, a law student.

He sees duelling as a symbol of members' readiness to fight on each other's behalf in every respect. Duels are only fought with members of other fraternities.

Fraternities set great store by their sense of community. "Age and rank matter little in the fraternity," says Roger Schwarz, a maths student who sees fraternities as a counterweight to the anonymity of the mass university.

Corps students undergo several stages, from the *Fux* or fresher to the *Bursche* or full student member and the *Alter Herr* or alumnus.

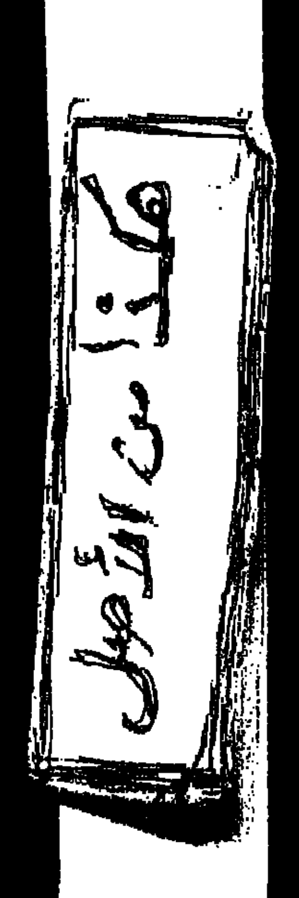
They have various duties and posts intended to foster a sense of responsibility. Members (and non-members) of student fraternities can rent a room in corps homes for DM100-DM200 a month.

Festivities, lectures and other activities are held for purposes of entertainment and information. Herr Prelle feels the corps offer a warm hearth in the context of intolerance and an elbow-pushing society.

History shows there to have been limits to this claim to tolerance. Between the early 19th century and the Third Reich the corps banned Jewish members more than once.

These anti-semitic resolutions were admittedly waived as often as they were imposed.

To this day fraternities are particular about who they accept as members. In 1978 a Göttingen corps was expelled from the leading association for having accepted a conscientious objector as a member.



Conscientious objectors to military service are as unwelcome as women students, who are banned from joining for largely historical reasons, Herr Prelle says.

Women students have only been permitted at German universities since 1919, he explains, while if they were allowed to join fraternities today they would merely lead to petty jealousy among members.

Women's lib may yet have to prevail, but the student corps have always claimed to be staunchly patriotic. Historically they have close ties with the 19th century liberal and national movement.

Jena University students who volunteered for service in the war of liberation against Napoleon joined forces with Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's gymnastics movement to set up the original *Burschenschaft*, or German student fraternity, in June 1815.

Others soon followed suit at other universities. "Honour, Freedom and Fatherland" was their motto, a united Germany their objective.

Rulers of the dozens of small German states saw them as revolutionaries who would stop at nothing. In 1819 a corps student, Karl Sand, assassinated poet and politician August von Kotzebue, whom he suspected of being a Tsarist agent.

The student fraternities were promptly prohibited in all member-states of the German Confederation as a "demagogic movement." They naturally went underground.

Critics accuse them of drifting to the right politically after the failure of the 1848 revolution (if not earlier).

In 1914 corps students were among the first volunteers for active service and 6,000 died at Langemarck in Flanders.

In 1919 they returned and joined the *Freikorps* in large numbers. They were largely responsible for suppressing the Bavarian *Räterepublik*, or Soviet republic.

Post-war ban

After the Second World War student fraternity traditions were widely felt to be outmoded. Some universities, such as the Free University in Berlin, banned them entirely.

Theodor Heuss, the first Bonn head of state, was opposed to them. The Social Democrats refused to allow their members to wear student corps colours until 1967.

In November 1952 a conference of German students' unions held in Kiel approved a resolution stating that delegates were opposed to the resurrection of reactionary student fraternities.

Students who fought duels were said to be seriously in breach of their social and civic responsibilities as university-trained citizens.

Yet Bonn Interior Minister Robert Lehr and Bundestag Speaker Hermann Ehlers publicly proclaimed their allegiance to the student corps ideals of old.

Litigation followed as a result of which fraternities were allowed to duel and wear colours again. From 1961 Federal government youth subsidies included grants to student corps.

The fraternities have not forgotten their patriotic roots. On 18 January they marched in full uniform through Kiel to a meeting in commemoration of the foundation of Bismarck's Reich.

Manfred Gothsch

(Kieler Nachrichten, 22 January 1986)

Coloured hats, sashes, songs — and now women members

Several *Alte Herren*, or student fraternity alumni, resigned from a Bonn student corps, Cheruskia, when it admitted its first women members a few years ago.

For over 150 years membership of German student fraternities was a strictly male privilege. The "old boys" were incensed.

The fraternity in its villa in Poppelsdorf, a residential suburb not far from the university, has recovered from the resignations — and come to terms with the female of the species.

Women students now make up nearly half Cheruskia's membership. Ten are full members and not merely a decorative accompaniment at corps events and festivities.

The fair sex has not cast historical precedent to the winds in a women's lib bid to gain access to the fraternities.

Law student Andrea Brachwitz from Wesel, on the Rhine north of Düsseldorf, saw membership as an opportunity of "breaking free of the anonymity of the mass university."

Besides, her father is an alumnus. "He joined a student fraternity in Berlin," she says. "He often talked about it and I used to think as a girl that I wouldn't mind joining one either.

"When I enrolled as a student in Bonn I came across a Cheruskia leaflet and my interest was promptly roused. Cheruskia are the only corps that admit women members. So I applied to join."

As with all applications, the fraternity had to decide in full session whether or not to admit her. She spent two semesters as a *Fuchs*, or junior, the category of member who has to serve the beer when members meet for a session.

The *Fuchs* also has to keep the corps home clean and generally do the dirty work, yet he (or, in this case, she) has no voting rights.

A *Fuchs* can, however, choose a full member to defend his (or, again, her) rights. They exchange colours.

In her stint as a *Fuchs* Andrea learnt a great deal about corps history. She was taught by the *Fuchs-Major*, a member of the committee.

The first fraternities were set up early in the 19th century and increasingly came to advocate political aims such as German unity and democratically elected German parliaments.

They were against serfdom and feudal rule and strongly in favour of the 1848 German parliament that met in Frankfurt.

Some duelled to demonstrate their courage. But over the years strict codes of conduct emerged, as is often the case in male societies of this kind. Latin words were used that ordinary people couldn't understand.

As a result, German student corps, which had close ties with the nobility, took on a secretive, elite aura they have retained to this day.

"Before I joined," says 24-year-old sociology student Martina Beier, "I knew nothing at all about fraternities — until a friend took me round one evening.

"I was impressed by the spirit of friendship and tolerance and soon decided to join Cheruskia."

Initially her family and friends shook their heads in disbelief. "No-one could figure out why I of all people wanted to join, especially as my subject has a left-wing reputation.

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

"I repeatedly had to defend my decision and pioneer public relations among fellow-students, most of whom dismiss us as totally reactionary."

Cheruskia prides itself on not being reactionary. It was set up in 1919 as a non-duelling fraternity with the motto "Knowledge, Friendship and Tolerance" and pledged to remain progressive and go with the times.

"Time," says 11th-semester law student Michael Althoff, "has long passed some student fraternities by. Their ideas are still those of yesteryear. We are keen to go with the times, which is why we accept both women and foreigners as members."

After serving their time as a *Fuchs* juniors must pass written and oral tests to qualify as *Burschen* or full student members of the fraternity.

"In the oral test they may be asked questions about the corps' code of conduct, such as voting rules, who can speak when at special events, how senior members are elected and so on," Andrea says.

As part of her exam she had to hold a short speech to show she was competent at public speaking. The subject she had to speak on to a full session of members was "In Praise of a Nasty Mother-In-Law."

After passing the test she was given her colours: a violet, white and green cap and sash. She now wears them at all fraternity events.

She then decided to rent a room at the fraternity home. "It's much cheaper than on the free market," she says. But the real reason she joined was to be able to talk with people who shared similar views.

Susanne Ingenhütt, another Cheruskia member who "rooms in," says she joined for the same reason. "Human warmth and a sense of community were what I was looking for," she says.

Maths student Claudia Hasenau says she joined mainly because she felt the need to communicate. Sonja Pongratz, who studies Romance languages and literature, tells a slightly different tale:

"I regularly visited Cheruskia as a final-year high school student. A friend often invited me along. Even then I decided to join when I started at university.

"When I did, life at the fraternity made the change from school to university very much easier for me."

All women members are keen on what outsiders usually imagine are drinking sessions that are held three times a semester.

In reality they are singing sessions followed, after brief official proceedings, by debates in which repartee is practised to the enjoyment of all concerned.

Membership has always been claimed to be a great personality-builder, with lectures given by professors, debates and discussions with the *Alte Herren*, or alumni, of whom Cheruskia has 120.

In some fraternities alumni are expected to arrange jobs for the boys. "That's not how we go about it," says *Al-*

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■ MEDICINE

Cancer: a case of helping in dying rather than helping to die

Maria Streubl (not the patient's real name) was barely able to speak by the time she died. Her face was disfigured by cancer and several operations. There was nothing more the doctors could do for her.

When she was sent back to the Paul Lechler Hospital in Tübingen she knew it was for good; there was no way she could hope to leave it again alive and well.

She was a terminal patient and she knew it. She died exactly a year after her cancer had first been diagnosed. But the doctors and staff made her last few weeks as pleasant as possible.

They called round for a chat whenever they had the time, and they kept the pain to a minimum. They helped her to die, yet she died a natural death.

Not so Hermy E., a cancer patient at the Eubios Clinic on Chiemsee in Bavaria, where chief surgeon Julius Hackethal supplied her with the cyanide she had asked for with which to put an end to her suffering.

Professor Hackethal's vision of euthanasia as a kind of stage show, complete with candlelight, organ music and the last rites, has not been at all to the liking of the medical profession, especially doctors and staff mainly concerned with terminal cases.

They take a dim view of the idea of doctors with a stethoscope in one pock-

Hannoversche Allgemeine

et and a cyanide phial in the other. They disapprove of a show starring the doctor as deciding who is to live or die.

"Never," says Swiss doctor Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, who is well known as an expert on death. "It is not for doctors to decide when life is no longer worth living. People who are terminally ill need help in dying, not help to die."

The doctor, she says, must help to ease suffering when there is nothing more he can to bring about a cure. He must help patients to endure the hardest part of life: life in the shadow of death. And no more.

Dr Kübler-Ross has taught others for over 25 years how she handles patients who are dying and their nearest and dearest.

The Paul Lechler Hospital in Tübingen has taken her advice to heart: to provide a place of hope where everyone can come to terms with death, neither plagued by pain nor leading a merely vegetable existence.

Hospital, to paraphrase Tübingen don and writer Walter Jens, must be a place where love of one's neighbour is practised in the truest sense of the term.

The Tübingen hospital is a model of its kind. Doctors are reluctant to refer to it as a terminal clinic because far more patients still leave it alive than dead.

The Paul Lechler Hospital originally specialised in tropical diseases, but over the years a growing number of patients have chosen to die there, having heard that patients were treated by people, not machines.

The human touch is far more important than medical technology in the final stage of life. Doctors and nurses try to make the last few weeks and months of life more bearable for patients who are, as it were, rejects from the modern medical machinery that predominates at Tübingen University Hospital.

They help patients to die quietly and at peace with the world. They help them in dying rather than helping them to die.

The clinic is in a large park with fine old trees overlooking the city. The foyer is overlooked by a towering mosaic representation of the Good Samaritan.

The most important meeting place is the refectory, a facility most other hospitals have long since axed. Meals taken together form part of the treatment.

They are partly the reason why so many old people prefer to be sent to the Paul Lechler Hospital to end their days when they feel their time has come. They can no longer bear the impersonal atmosphere of their old folk's home.

"Many old people don't find dying itself all that difficult," says chief surgeon Harald Kretschmer. "What upsets them are the depressing circumstances that accompany it."

Doctors and nurses at the clinic have almost all served at mission hospitals overseas where they learnt how to set aside personal needs, which is essential in dealing with the dying.

Their Christian motivation is even apparent from their salary slips. The chief surgeon earns no more than his deputies, and 12 doctors share the salaries of ten.

How can one help people medical science can no longer help? The most important point is to ease the pain. Terminal cancer patients often suffer from pain that can put out the very last spark of will to live.

In Tübingen a morphium-based analgetic has proved most effective. It is given to patients as often as every two hours and frees them from pain without dulling their senses.

They stay fully conscious of what goes on around them. This treatment has only recently been considered acceptable in Germany.

Morphium cocktails will not, of course, eliminate personal problems. People who are dying need both painkillers and someone they can confide in. Nothing is worse than loneliness.

Medical care on the borderline between life and death seeks to eliminate or at least ease the pain of solitude. The best medicine is close contact with the patients' nearest and dearest, and the Tübingen clinic strongly encourages it.

Wherever possible, patients are released and sent home to die. "Sending a dying patient back home is the finest gift possible," says Dr Kübler-Ross.

Yet most patients are not given the opportunity. Over 70 per cent of Germans die in hospital, and the percentage is increasing, although 90 per cent would reportedly prefer to die at home.

Cramped conditions and the restrictions imposed by work, children and the family may be reasons for not allowing people to die in dignity in their own homes, but the reason why most relatives prefer to pack them off to hospital to die is fear of the nearness of death.

Old people in particular often have to take their leave of life without the least support from their families. In death, as in life, young people have the more powerful lobby.

Germans could learn extensively from experience in other countries. In the United States hospices are as widespread as maternity clinics. In Sweden and Holland hospitals have full-time staff trained to help people to die.

Britain has for over 80 years had hospices where terminal patients can end their days under medical supervision.

London alone has half a dozen. Nine out of 10 patients have terminal cancer. "We make our patients only two promises," says Richard Lammerton, head of St Joseph's Hospice, London, for the past 16 years.

One is that they will have no pain and the other is that they won't die on their own. Patients who aren't bedridden are allowed to return home for a while if they feel strong enough.

Home care service is then provided. St Joseph's has 40 ward patients and over 100 who are cared for at home.

Could British hospices serve as a model for German clinics? The Bonn Health Ministry asked welfare associations, hospitals, doctors, the churches and others for their views on the subject five years ago.

Ninety-five per cent were against the idea then, but times have since changed. The taboo is growing less powerful.

In 1983 the German Cancer Relief Association set up the first palliative therapy ward as a pilot project at Cologne University Hospital.

Findings are so encouraging that interest has been shown by hospitals in Bonn, Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Kiel.

Others have quietly followed. They include Herdecke Hospital, St Vincenz Hospital, Limburg, Ulm University Hospital and the Amalie Sieveking Hospital in Hamburg.

Financing terminal care wards is fairly unproblematic. Expensive equipment isn't required. All patients need is someone to be there to help them as they die.

Tübingen hospital chaplain Christoffer Grundmann says: "I have a friend who works as a doctor in a Hamburg mortuary. He says he can see at a glance by looking at the dead person's face whether he or she has died in peace at home or alone in hospital."

Renate Wiedemann

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 January 1986)

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ter Herr Dieter Quednau, a professor of biometrics.

"Most of us wouldn't want to join the gravy train that way," says Martina Beier. "We would sooner get by on our own."

Blonde Martina will soon be an *Alte Dame* — the second "old girl" senior to the 23 student members of the fraternity. She is only 25 but has already graduated.

Membership is a lifetime arrangement. "When members exchange ribbons they pledge mutual reliability and responsibility," Andrea says. She can now chat with her father as an expert on fraternity affairs.

Sigrid Latka-Jöhring

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 25 January 1986)

■ FRONTIERS

The life of the bobby on the Reeperbahn beat

Lübecker Nachrichten

We're a spiritual force round here," says a policeman at the Davidswache station on the Reeperbahn, in the St Pauli red light area of Hamburg. Prostitutes having trouble with their pimps, winos on skid row, small-time criminals trying to go straight — all sorts turn up here. Tourists sometimes comes in to have a look.

The door opens. An old balding man comes in. He has a stubble beard and threadbare clothing. "Hullo boys," he says to the duty policeman. "Is Charly in?"

The duty officer is rocking back on his stool, relaxed. He lets the stool roll forward. "No, Anton," he says. "Charly isn't on duty today."

Anton waves his hand in acknowledgement. "OK. Thanks anyway. See you." And disappears.

Anton comes often, but no one at the station knows who Charly is. The answer was routine. The policeman shrugs his shoulders: "It doesn't bother me. And he is satisfied. That's the main thing, isn't it?"

There are about 80 policemen here in the Reeperbahn. They are mostly young. They have to deal with, as one puts it, "nutcases and lunatics, whores and pimps, thieves and fences."

It is 11 pm. Coffee is ready. One of the plain clothes men comes in with a dark-haired man in tow. "Says he's illegal (an illegal immigrant). Says he's called Hassan." The unexpected is commonplace here.

The door opens again. A 15-year-old boy comes in. He complains loudly about the earphones of his Walkman. They have been stolen and he knows who did it. A policeman sorts through the papers that need filling in.

In the meantime, Hassan has changed his mind. He now says that he is Italian. A patrol car team brings in a complaining drunk. He will be taken to a cell to sober up. Hassan has to show his papers. The drunk is adamant: he wants to take his bottle with him into the cell.

The procedure is too slow for the boy who has lost his earphones. He decides to go and get them back himself. Hassan is Antonio and really is an Italian. The drunk doesn't want to go into a cell. He wants to go home instead.

Midnight: plain clothes detective Werner Finder gets ready for a tour of *the precinct. Plain clothes detectives are* included in every shift. In the criminal world they are known to everybody, but that is not important. Their mere presence acts as a deterrent. Robberies have declined markedly as a result of using them.

On his way, Finder is greeted on all sides and he chats with pimps and prostitutes. He says maintaining contacts is important. It takes years to build up goodwill.

Palais d'Amour is the biggest brothel in the area. It is quiet. Girls dressed in skimpy lingerie wait in the contact room while men sidle in with heads pulled down into their shoulders.

Finder finds that he is already expected at the Salambo cabaret. The owner invites him in to see the latest act. Four slender Asian girls and four young men are on the platform. Business is good here. In many spots fear of Aids is keeping people away. So is unemployment.

2am: it is freezing cold. Finder takes a look at a well-known beat where the taste is mildly exotic. Then back to the police station where the coffee has just been made.

A girl in the blue fur coat bursts into the room. She is a little drunk. She claims a pimp is after her. She doesn't want to work on the street. She is given a cup of coffee and an officer tries to quieten her.

She says she met this nice man in a disco a few days ago and now she has to go and work for him. The police know the pimp. The ploy is not new. The girl is not the first. She is 16. The duty officer looks at her reflectively. His daughter is the same age. Later, this girl wil be sent home to her parents in a taxi.

4am: it's quieter. Shortly before 5am, it's time for coffee again. And a bread roll. Before the day begins again.

Hilke Prull-Kramer

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 19 January 1986)

Police reduced to tears

Munich police got more than they bargained for when they tried to arrest a 26-year-old Ghanaian on an identification matter. The heavily built man jumped through a first-floor window, hurdled several man-high fences, shrugged off attempts to hold him and laughed when teargas was squirted at him.

As one policeman later described it, the Ghanaian at first seemed to have accepted his fate when spoken to, but then he "exploded like a bolt from the blue" and leapt through the first-floor window to the ground below, where he made a belly landing.

A pursuing policeman reached him, but the Ghanaian sprang to his feet and raced away. The pursuing officer, described as being an accomplished track athlete, was left floundering behind. The police kept up their search for an hour and eventually found the man in a telephone booth. But he burst out and got away again, leaving the policemen clutching his jacket and shirt.

The man, now naked to the waist, hid himself in a rubbish container but was given away when he accidentally moved the lid. As the police heaved the lid off, the man sprang out. But the police were ready with teargas.

This had about the same effect as a fleabite on an elephant, said a policeman later. All that happened was the policemen started watering at the eyes and were only able to see their man through a fog of tears.

They threw themselves at the now tiring man and tried to put on handcuffs, but his wrists were too big. Eventually they were forced to tie him to a railing.

Inside the paddy wagon, the windows were opened. "Cold, cold," cried the big man. The policemen smiled and closed the windows. They had at least found the heel of this achilles.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 23 January 1986)

Pop music granny

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programme of parodies of famous pianists of the 1950s and 1960s.

Even today she claims that she has a cabaret and parody act of more than 60 items at the ready.

Even through she is a North German she was a roaring success at Carnival in the Rhineland. She starred in a carnival comic turn as a women's libber, she recalls with a smile.

She pursued a second career in films after the war. She was well known in her role as a prostitute in Jürgen Roland's film *Polizeirevier Davidswache* (The Davidswache police station in Hamburg's red-light district). She achieved her amusing effects by being brash.

She made a musical, *Heimweh nach St Pauli* (Nostalgia for St Pauli) and was in *Dem Täter auf dem Spur* (On the track of the culprit).

Gerty Molzen has no wish to be called a "Pop Grandma" in her third career. She said: "I see myself as a rock lady, with the emphasis on lady." In all her engagements she has kept up her standards.

The lively lady has a full appointment's book with interviews with journalists and appearances on television at home and abroad.

In her 80th year she still puts in time for her artistic work. She says: "You can sing until you're 60, and be crazy until you're 90."

dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 January 1986)

Judge bitter at lollipop hint

The long face of the legal world remained unamused. Two lawyers involved in the "dextrose energy case" have been punished "in the name of the people".

Bernhard Rüsch, 47, and Wolfgang Johann, 36, both from Düsseldorf, were admonished by a bar tribunal for behaving "impertinently and in an undignified manner." Rüsch was also fined 2,000 marks.

Their offence was to send a packet of bonbons worth 80 pfennigs to a judge who had been presiding over a case handling disputed building costs of 8,000 marks. The case had been adjourned five times and the lawyers thought that the fructose content of the bonbons would give the slow-working judge more energy.

Senior judge Dr Christoph Degenhardt had been sent the bonbons to pass on to his slow-working colleague. But he wrote back, poker-faced, to say that German judges were able to buy their own bonbons. In any case, wrote Degenhardt, he was not a post office courier.

It seemed that the matter might rest there. But the judge at the centre of the lollipop row, Wolfgang Roese, 38, was not satisfied. The bar council was alerted and a prosecution was entered.

In addition, the tribunal charged the two with illegal advertising: they were convinced that Rüsch had alerted the media. The upshot was lots of headlines. Bar hearings are usually in secret.

Prosecutor Hans-Reinhard Henke said that he had never before seen the media at tribunal hearings. Such hearings were held in secret so that the public could not see how the bar went about settling its internal disputes.

Judges, prosecutors and lawyers were all organs of the legal system. They were all in the same boat. Rüsch and Johann had behaved without solidarity. They had in effect described Judge Roese as lazy, hypocritical and unprofessional and had held him up to ridicule.

However, Henke said that all the publicity might do the two more harm than good. Members of the public might think that from now on, judges might be inclined to view their cases unsympathetically.

Rüsch and Johann intend to appeal. Rüsch was unrepentant. He said judges were paid out of public money and he would rebel again if he ever came across a "work-to-rule" judge again.

Hans Willenweber

(Mannheimer Morgen, 18 January 1986)

Businessman Fred sued for sixpence

Journalists and television crews packed the courtroom to record the hearing for posterity. The sum at stake: six pfennigs (2.5 American cents). That was what Hannover lawyer Dr Eberhard Nordmann was demanding from businessman Fred Koch, 56.

The story to emerge was this: Koch was Nordmann's client on a case involving a lease but had had a disagreement with him and had sought another lawyer.

Nordmann sent Koch a bill for DM517.56, due on 20 November. But this happened to be a public holiday. On 21 November when the money had not arrived, Nordmann filed a suit with the court.

He told the civil court judge Friedhelm Rudolph that the correspondence up to this point had indicated that Koch had no intention of paying. A reminder could be argued against, but not a court order.

On 18 December, Koch paid, but the cheque was for DM517.50 — a zero had been typed in instead of a 6. The lawyer was not satisfied and renewed his suit to collect outstanding six pfennigs. Plus interest at 4 per cent.

Nordmann told the hearing that it was a matter of principle and of collecting the costs incurred. The original process of entering the charge had cost him 92 marks in costs plus value-added tax. If he decided at this stage to go no further, he would lose his costs.

Nordmann told the court that four letters in his correspondence file with Koch should be regarded as reminders about the bill. Koch disputed this and Judge Rudolph himself was not able to clarify the point.

Then Koch pulled six pfennigs out of his pocket and handed them over to the lawyer, who was assisted by junior counsel.

Koch had to pay court costs of 52 marks. In addition he had to pay the lawyer 86 marks and 25 pfennigs.

With television cameras whirling in the background (they are allowed in civil hearings), Nordmann handed Koch back the six pfennigs.

After the case, Nordmann handed out a five-page document to members of the Press in which he said, to their astonishment, that by not carrying through the usual reminder procedure for unpaid bills, the judicial system had been spared extra work.

Ewald Revermann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 January 1985)

■ HORIZONS

Men organise self-help group to combat wife-beating husbands

Hans Peter Lütjen is the originator of the "Men against Male Violence" organisation, set up in Hamburg.

On his answering phone he goes straight to the point: "Male violence means beating women up, threatening women, using force against them, attacking them, hurting them, tormenting them, ill-treating them and raping them."

He then asks: "Do you practice this kind of violence, mate? Do you want to stop it? If you ring us up for that reason you are at the right number."

Lütjen, 39, founded the Hamburg organisation with support from Bonn. It is now spreading to other cities such as Stuttgart, West Berlin, Kassel, Essen, Wuppertal, Hamelin, Speyer and Munich.

There are nine men at the centre of his group, two manual workers, a man who works on concrete building construction, one who works in exports, a business consultant and computer technician, an engineer, a trades unionist and a bank worker.

Lütjen is a lecturer in English studies at Hamburg University, divorced and now living with another woman and her children.

Those who work with him are between 28 and 40 and most of them have a record of violence against women — "and not just once."

They have stuck up many thousands of posters at railway stations in Hamburg, Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony on which sentences in bold letters similar to those on the answering phone can be read.

In Hamburg and the environs more than 5,000 pamphlets with the same contents have been passed around to men.

There is an emergency telephone available to help men who find themselves in a vicious circle of violence against women. There are 20 calls a week to this phone number. Every other Wednesday the men are invited to a session to talk about brutality.

Male violence against women might not be a capital crime but it is by no means unusual. An Allensbach Institute survey reports that annually 2.5 million wives are raped by their husbands. The number of unreported cases could be much higher.

To this can be added an untold number of cases in which men, married or not, attack, beat up and harm women in one way or another.

Women involved report why and how they are harmed in the only refuges they have — the 107 independent and 60 municiple homes for battered wives in the country. These homes have taken in more than 14,000 women, most of them with children and more often than not the women have to struggle to survive financially.

There is for example Irene G. After six years of torment she fled to one of the two Munich homes for battered wives.

She said her husband was "compulsively jealous. When we went shopping he only went with me so that I did not talk to anyone. If I chatted to the lady next door he made a frightful scene."

This ended as do so many similar si-



tuations with accusations being hurled about.

Even his mother said Irene was a sloppy wretch, the flat was not cleaned enough and she put too much salt in the food, and so on and so on. But it did not stop at words. Irene said: "Then in the middle of the evening meal he boxed my ears, threw the crockery about like a madman and pulled me round the room by my hair. When I screamed he got really uptight and pushed me against the central heating and held me there . . ."

Hans Peter Lütjen has also been violent. He said quite frankly that he would describe himself as being a violent man.

Only after he got divorced did he try to get to the bottom of his outbursts, "only then did the penny drop," in long discussions with his new companion.

Just when he found happiness again he got to hear of male groups in America that campaigned against violence.

He made contact with those involved in Boston and Pittsburg.

The Pittsburg institution uses a behavioural training technique devised by psychologists on which the Hamburg group bases its work.

Lütjen offered his idea to the Family Affairs Ministry in Bonn.

Ministry official Renate Augstein said: "For the time being we are supporting this men's group with DM7,000, because it is the first project of its kind in the country."

The Ministry expects to gain from the group some insights into this area, so Lütjen's group has to prepare reports and analyses for the Ministry.

Later the Ministry will tie the approach "to something more scientific".

Renate Augstein added: "There are similar groups in Amsterdam and Utrecht in Holland. This kind of campaign is new here and we have just begun to support it."

Waldemar Kiessling, 36, a management consultant, until now in the Hamburg group, has moved to Munich and has decided to start a similar group there.

He said: "I shall try to get psychologists, lawyers and doctors interested in the project in Munich." That could mean, and should mean, woman experts, "because that would certainly be useful to the group sessions."

How do the sessions work, how do the men defuse their potential for violence?

Lütjen said there was no stock remedy for this. He said: "There are various factors that trigger off brutality, sometimes they are very banal."

One man reported that because his wife was terribly grumpy in the mornings he had to wake his son, wash and dress him for school and get him his breakfast. This created stress in him that ended up in rows and finally in physical violence.

The advice the men's group gave him was that firstly he should buy his son an alarm clock. The boy was seven and old enough to get himself up and wash himself, the father was told.

Then breakfast could be got ready the previous evening without any rush. Another man confessed that he had *beaten his wife because she had not* paid a bill on time. He admitted that he had had a tough day at work and on the way home he had got worked up "because of the asses driving on the road." The unpaid bill was the last straw.

He was advised: "When you are frustrated at work quietly tell those at home that you are in a bad mood before you go home. Your wife will then understand. Go in the garden, take a walk or a shower so as to cool off. Then when you have calmed down tell her what has happened at work to upset you."

Obviously, said Lütjen, these are only "tips to start off with". The real reasons for acting brutally towards women are often more deep-seated.

Many men are not prepared to discuss their personal problems with women because they believe they must keep up a front of being "the strong sex". This pressure seeks an outlet — and that is in violence.

Similar outbursts can be the result of a married man gradually losing all contact with his old friends, or when he sets his sights too high in his job.

Other men given to violence had forgotten, or never learned, where the limits lie of a person's ability to cope with physical and emotional stress.

Then there are others, and this group is increasing in size, who cannot come to terms with the fact "that their wives are emancipated."

Lütjen said: "Firstly they refuse to listen and look away. Then they tease their wives and make new demands of them."

When that does not help then they begin to fight. At the back of his mind the husband has the suspicion that "he can no longer rely upon his wife, and not only sexually."

This touches "on an inability to find a better appreciation of each other's roles in the marriage partnership."

Many men have come to understand and accept that the old cliché roles no longer prevail, that women are not men's playthings and that they must work together in a partnership of equality.

Many women find it difficult to go along with the "Men against Male Violence" campaign. Lütjen said that the five independent battered wives homes in Hamburg were not prepared to cooperate with his group. He said: "We have tried to make contact with them many times."

The homes are not prepared "to raise a little finger to help the group" and Lütjen says "I can understand this" for the Women's Liberation Movement was the first to bring the mistreatment of women to the public's attention.

For years Women's Libbers were mocked and left to their own devices. Lütjen's knows only too well that without the Women's Liberation Movement his group would not exist.

Wulf Petzoldt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 26 January 1986)

Prisoners set up 'trade union' to present their case

Inmates of the Westphalia prison at Werl formed their own association named "Solidarity".

The founder, Erwin Remus, who has been behind bars for many years, said that now 2,000 of the total of 60,000 prisoners held nationwide were members of the association.

It was recently "officially" established at a meeting in Bielefeld as an organisation "similar to a trades union", with the aim of representing prisoners and their dependents in dealings with the law, government and public.

"Solidarity" chairman Erwin Remus said that the membership was made up not only of ordinary prisoners, including 80 serving life sentences, but also of the victims of crime, lawyers, scientific experts and social workers.

Citizens involved in politics and the Church were also taking an interest in the unusual association.

Through good cooperation between the various parties involved a start has already been made on projects to help prisoners, particularly afterwards, when they are released.

These projects include writing letters to prisoners who do not have relatives outside, and preparations for life in freedom with a job.

The associaton will campaign mainly for freedom of information and assembly which it claims prisoners are just as entitled to as others.

It will also make demands for a more humane prison system.

Prison reform was introduced in 1977, costing tax-payers DM6 million a day, but this has not made life in prison any easier.

As always most penal institutions are overcrowded. Leave of absense from prison is rarely granted and appropriate pay is not paid to prisoners for the hard work they have to do.

"Prisons within prisons" continue to exist in the shape of special cells.

There are about 200,000 mothers, fathers and wives who are affected by the treatment of prisoners. They do not want to play down the crimes committed in any way and they are keen to help victims of crime and see them included in the "Solidarity" membership.

The Bielefeld general meeting proposed that the monthly membership fee should be three marks, which can be paid by a prisoner in postage stamps. The association's bank account will be managed by a Munich lawyer.

The organisation's circulars will be distributed among West German penal establishments without the censorship usual in prisons.

Erwin Remus, who will have completed his own nine and a half year sentence in October, is optimistic about the organisation.

He said: "Together we can do something. I myself do not think that I was unfairly sentenced."

dpa

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, Essen, 20 January 1986)